1854 0/B

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Wellcome Library

https://archive.org/details/b30529682_0001


77-35
67-35
57-35
47-3
7-35
from London
THE ATLANTIC OCEAN
Hudsons
Davis's Straits
Farro
Shetland
Orkney I.
60
Hudsons Bay
Terra Labradar
NORTH
G. Britain
Dublin
London
50
Canada
AMERICA
N. Scotia
Cape Breton
The Fish Bank
Brest
Bay of Biscay
Spain
Madrid
Cadiz
Pensilvania
York
Maryland
Virginia
Chesapeake Bay
C. Hatteras
Carolina
Georgia
40
30
Florida
Bahama Is.
Cuba
Hispaniola
Jamaica
North Sea
Caribbees
Barbadoes
20
10
Tierra Firma
SOUTH AMERICA
South Sea
Guinea
60
50
40
30
10
20
J. Jefferys sculp.

A

COMPENDIUM

Of Authentic and Entertaining

VOYAGES,

Digeſted in a Chronological Series.

The whole exhibiting

A clear View of the CUSTOMS, MANNERS, RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, COMMERCE, and NATURAL HISTORY of moſt Nations in the KNOWN WORLD.

Illuſtrated and adorned with a Variety of genuine Charts, Maps, Plans, Heads, &c. curiouſly engraved.

In SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY; Jo. RIVINGTON; JA. RIVINGTON and J. FLETCHER; W. JOHNSTON; W. STRAHAN; and T. JEFFERYS.
MDCCLVI.

1898

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

THE PREFACE.

SO many collections of Voyages have been already given to the world, that the compiler of the enſuing volumes thinks it incumbent upon him to explain the motives which have induced him to ſwell the number of theſe productions. One of his principal views in undertaking the work, was to diſincumber this uſeful ſpecies of hiſtory from a great deal of unneceſſary lumber, that tended only to clog the narration and burthen the memory.

We live in an age of levity and caprice, that can reliſh little beſides works of fancy; nor do we liſten to inſtruction unleſs it be conveyed to us under the pleaſing form of entertainment. But to mix profit with delight ſhould be the aim of all writers, and the buſineſs of every book: and nothing can contribute more to theſe valuable ends, than a detail of Voyages; in which we can travel to the moſt diſtant corners of the world without ſtirring from our cloſets, chooſe the moſt enter-

taining route, embark with the moſt agreeable companions, view remote cities and their governments, extend our acquaintance thro' all the nations of the globe, and intereſt ourſelves in a ſucceſſion of incidents and adventures, that at once improve the mind and delight the imagination.

Theſe purpoſes, we apprehend, have not been fully anſwered by the voluminous collections which have hitherto appeared in this country: the ſize and price of a folio are ſufficient to intimidate an ordinary reader from purchaſing the work or peruſing its contents. Beſides, they are generally ſo ſtuffed with dry deſcriptions of bearings and diſtances, tides and currents, variations of the compaſs, leeway, wind and weather, ſounding, anchoring, and other terms of navigation, that none but meer pilots, or ſeafaring people, can read them without diſguſt.

Our aim has been to clear away this kind of rubbiſh in ſuch a manner as to leave the narrative leſs embarraſſed, but more ſuccinct: we have not only retrenched the ſuperfluities, but endeavoured to poliſh the ſtile, ſtrengthen the connexion of incidents,

and

and animate the narration, wherever it ſeemed to languiſh.

In the arrangement of our materials, we have deviated from the plan which has been followed by all other compilers of Voyages; inſtead of beginning with the circum-navigators, and claſſing together the different Voyages which have been made to the ſame countries; we have ſet out with the Diſcoveries of Columbus, and introduced every ſubſequent Voyage in chronological order, ſo as to form, as it were, The Annals of Navigation. Thus we trace the ſpirit of adventure in a regular progreſs thro' all the various ſtreams of diſcovery, in every different channel give a new entertainment, and avoid the fatiguing ſameneſs of immediate repetition.

The Charts, Maps and Plans, that decorate this Work, are correctly drawn and engraved from the moſt approved Engliſh and French authors, and the longitudes adjuſted from the meridians of London and Ferro. The Hiſtorical Cuts, Heads and Views, are alſo neatly engraved from the beſt materials that could be procured.

THE

A

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES.

The First Voyage of COLUMBUS.

AS we do not pretend to give a minute detail of all the voyages that have been performed, and every discovery which hath been made, but propose to collect those only which are the most material and interesting, we shall pass over the first enterprizes upon the western coast of Africa by the Portugueze, and begin with the discovery of the West-Indies by Christopher Columbus; an expedition attended with the most important consequences to almost all the trading powers of Europe, and fraught with circumstances so new and surprising, as cannot fail to engage, and even captivate the reader's attention. The history of these transactions will undoubtedly meet with the greater regard on account of its authenticity, when we assure the publick, it was originally written by the son of Columbus, who having attended his father in his last voyages, was an eye-witness of a great many curious facts that occurred in the course of the undertaking, and who col-

lected all the reſt of the materials, either from the Admiral's own papers, or the information of perſons of credit, who bore a ſhare in his firſt diſcovery and ſettlement of Hiſpaniola.

Chriſtopher Columbus, who was a native of Genoa, having been inſtructed in the arts of navigation and coſmography, ſpent the greateſt part of his youth at ſea, and ſeems to have been well acquainted with all the Portugueze diſcoveries, from Cape Nao, in the kingdom of Morocco, to Cape de Verd, which at that time was the utmoſt extent of their navigation.

Chriſtopher happening to be on board of one of the ſhips belonging to the famous Corſair Columbus the younger, when he attacked four large Venetian galleys near Cape St. Vincent, had the mortification to ſee the veſſel on fire, ſo that he was obliged to commit himſelf to the ſea, in order to avoid the fury of the flames. Being an excellent ſwimmer, he reached the ſhore, and repaired to Liſbon, where, by his upright conduct and inſinuating behaviour, he ſoon acquired a good number of friends, and engaged the affection of a lady of ſome fortune, whom he married with her mother's conſent. Among the papers of his wife's father, who had been ſome time dead, he found a great many manuſcripts and charts, the peruſal of which not only gratified a natural inclination he had to the ſtudy of coſmography, but alſo inflamed him with the ambition of making a diſcovery which ſhould eclipſe every enterprize of that kind which had been hitherto atchieved.

The more he exerciſed the power of natural reaſon, the more he was perſuaded, that ſo great a part of the globe as was then unknown, muſt conſiſt of ſomething elſe than ſea, and that it was practicable to find a ſhorter way to the Indies by the weſt, than that

that courſe which the Portugueze adventurers were then endeavouring to follow all round Africa to the ſouthward: for he firmly believed that the Eaſt Indies extended ſo far eaſterly, as to be within the reach of a ſhort voyage, performed in a weſterly direction.

Poſſeſſed of this notion, which he ſupported by a number of plauſible arguments, he addreſſed himſelf to John II. king of Portugal, the great patron of diſcovery, who liſtened attentively to his project, though he did not reliſh the terms of his propoſal, relating to his own private advantage, in caſe his endeavours ſhould meet with ſucceſs. John therefore amuſed him for ſome time, during which he thought he had extracted the marrow of his ſcheme, and on pretence of ſending ſupplies to the colony of the Cape de Verd iſlands, fitted out a veſſel, in order to diſcover the Indies on his own ſcore: but this ungenerous enterprize miſcarried; for thoſe charged with the execution, after a fruitleſs voyage of many days, returned to the Cape, fully perſuaded that the project was altogether chimerical.

Columbus ſo deeply reſented this unfair and clandeſtine conduct of the king, that he reſolved to leave Portugal, and offer his ſervices to ſome other power; and accordingly withdrew himſelf into Caſtile, which was then governed by Ferdinand and Iſabella, to whom he preſented his plan and propoſals: but this ſtep he did not take till after he had ſent his brother Bartholomew with the ſame offers to Henry VII. king of England, who in all probability would have been the proprietor of the new world, had not Bartholomew been taken and ſtripped by pirates in his paſſage; ſo that when he at length arrived in London, he was reduced to ſuch extreme poverty as utterly diſabled him from promoting his ſuit, and obtaining an audience of his majeſty, until, by making and vending ſea-charts, he, in the courſe of ſe-

veral years, acquired ſome reputation, and at laſt found means to communicate the ſcheme, which met with all the encouragement he could deſire: but by that time, his brother had actually ſailed in the ſervice of their Caſtilian majeſties. Even Chriſtopher did not carry his point till after he had perſevered in his ſollicitations for the ſpace of eight years, during which he wreſtled with incredible oppoſition from the ignorance, obſtinacy and envy of the Spaniards. Nay, his patience was at laſt quite exhauſted by his fruitleſs attendance, and he had actually taken his leave of Ferdinand and Iſabella, intending to try his fortune at the court of France, and if rejected there to proceed for England in queſt of his brother, of whoſe fate he was entirely ignorant; when he was unexpectedly recalled by the queen of Caſtile, at the earneſt entreaties and perſuaſion of Lewis de Saint Angelo her confeſſor, who prevailed upon her to comply with the demands of Columbus, and even lent her money to promote the expedition.

Chriſtopher was immediately appointed admiral on the ocean, to enjoy all the appointments, prerogatives and privileges annexed to the flags of Caſtile and Leon in their reſpective ſeas; it was agreed, that all civil employments in the iſlands and continent to be diſcovered, ſhould be wholly at his diſpoſal; that all governments ſhould be given to one of thoſe perſons he ſhould name; that he ſhould appoint judges in Spain for Indian affairs; that over and above the ſalary and perquiſites of admiral, viceroy and governour, he ſhould have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found or acquired within the limits of his admiralſhip, after the charge of the conqueſt ſhould be defrayed; together with an eighth part of all that he ſhould bring home in his fleet; in conſideration of which, he ſhould be at one eighth part of the expence.

Theſe

Theſe articles being ſettled, and his commiſſion and grants confirmed by the hands and ſeal of their catholic majeſties, the admiral repaired to Palos, in order to forward his equipment, which conſiſted of three ſmall veſſels, namely the Santa Maria admiral Columbus, the La Pinta, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the La Nina with ſquare ſails, commanded by his brother Vincent Yanez Pinzon, both natives of Palos.

Theſe Caravals being furniſhed with proviſion, neceſſaries and ninety men, ſet ſail on Saturday the 3d day of Auguſt in the year 1492: next morning the rudder of the La Pinta broke looſe, ſo that the admiral was obliged to lie to, though the weather was ſo rough that he could give no other aſſiſtance, than that of encouraging the crew by his preſence. However, Pinzon the captain, who was an able ſeaman, ſoon repaired the damage, which was ſuppoſed to have been contrived by the maſter, becauſe he was averſe to the voyage; and they proceeded tolerably well till Tueſday, the ſea being high, the ropes by which the rudder had been ſecured gave way, and they were forced again to lie by until they could put it to rights, ſo as to ſteer the ſhip as far as the Canary Iſlands, which they diſcovered on Thurſday about break of day. The wind being in their teeth, two days elapſed before they could anchor at Gran Canaria, where the admiral left Pinzon with directions to procure if poſſible another ſhip, while himſelf, accompanied by the La Nina, ſailed on the ſame deſign for the iſland Gomera, which he reached on Sunday. Upon his firſt arrival, he ſent his boat aſhore to inquire after a veſſel, and at his return next day underſtood that there was not one in the whole iſland, though the inhabitants hourly expected Donna Beatrix de Bobadilla their proprietreſs from the Gran Canaria in a veſſel of forty tuns, which might be eaſily fitted

for his voyage. In conſequence of this intimation he reſolved to wait for her arrival, and in the mean time ſent a man on board of a bark bound for Gran Canaria to inform Pinzon of the place where he lay, and help him to repair his rudder in caſe he had not been able to procure another ſhip. Having waited a long time in vain for an anſwer, he reſolved to return to the Gran Canaria, and ſailing on the 24th, came up with the bark which had been hitherto detained by contrary winds: that ſame night he ſailed cloſe by the iſland of Teneriff, and ſaw abundance of flame iſſue from the peak, and next day anchored at the Gran Canaria, where he found Pinzon, who told him that the Lady Beatrix had ſailed ſome days before, in that veſſel for which he had waited ſo long. Although he was mortified at this diſappointment, he reſolved to repair the damaged Caraval as well as he could, by furniſhing her with a new rudder, and at the ſame time to alter the ſquare ſails of the La Nina, ſo as that ſhe might be the more able to keep company with her conſorts.

Thus refitted and improved they departed from the Gran Canaria on the 1ſt of September, and next day arrived at Gomera, where ſome time being ſpent in laying in proviſions, wood and water, they ſet ſail on Thurſday the 6th, and ſtood away to the weſtward, though they made little way, becauſe there was ſcarce any wind. On Sunday about day break the admiral found himſelf nine leagues weſt of the iſland Ferro, where they loſt ſight of land, and many people on board wept bitterly, on the ſuppoſition that they would hardly ever ſee it again. Columbus perceiving this deſpondence, which he was afraid would infect the whole company, comforted them with the moſt confident aſſurances of wealth and proſperity, and though they ſailed eighteen

teen leagues that day, pretended they had made no more but fifteen, reſolving to diſguiſe his reckoning in this manner during the whole voyage, that they might not think themſelves ſo far from Spain as they really were.

Continuing his courſe, he, on Wedneſday the 12th of September, being 150 leagues weſt of Ferro, diſcovered the body of a large tree, which ſeemed to have been a long time upon the water. Here he found a current ſetting ſtrongly to the north-eaſt; and when he had run fifty leagues farther weſtward, he, on the 13th, in the twilight, perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-eaſt, and at day-break half a point more. He was not a little ſurpriſed at this variation, which had never been obſerved before; but he had reaſon to be ſtill more amazed, when ſailing about 100 leagues farther, he found the needles varied about a point to the north-eaſt at night, and pointed upon the ſtar in the morning.

On Saturday, the 15th, being almoſt 300 leagues weſt of Ferro, at night, they ſaw a ſurpriſing body of light fall from the ſky into the ſea, at the diſtance of four or five leagues from the ſhips, to the ſouth-weſt, tho' the weather was fair, the wind favourable, the ſea ſmooth, and the current ſetting north-eaſt.

The people on board the La Nina had, the preceeding day, been ſurpriſed at ſight of a heron and tropick bird which the Spaniards call *rabo de junco*: but the next day they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, when they ſaw the ſea, in a manner, covered with green and yellow weeds, which ſeemed to be lately waſhed away from ſome rock or iſland. From this phenomenon they concluded that they were near ſome land; eſpecially as they perceived a live lobſter floating among theſe weeds; and afterwards found the ſea water grow leſs ſalt as they advanced:

beſides, they were attended by vaſt ſhoals of tunny fiſh.

On Tueſday, the 18th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the Pinta, being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and told him, that he had ſeen a great number of birds flying weſtward, ſo that he expected that night to diſcover land, which indeed he thought he already deſcried to the northward, at the diſtance of fifteen leagues. But this was a notion to which no regard was paid by the admiral, who was convinced of its being a deception, and therefore would loſe no time in altering his courſe, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of his people, who were very well diſpoſed to credit ſuch an agreeable illuſion. However, as the wind began to freſhen, they took in their topſails at night, this being the firſt time they had occaſion to trim a ſail, in the ſpace of eleven days, during which they ſtill continued the courſe weſtward.

On the 19th day of September, in the morning, the admiral ſeeing a number of ſea gulls, began to conceive hopes of land, from which he ſuppoſed theſe fowl would not fly a great way: and in that opinion, ſounding with a line of two hundred fathom, tho' he found no bottom, he perceived the current ſetting to the ſouth-weſt.

On Thurſday the 22d they took a bird like an heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the head, and web feet, ſaw abundance of weeds, and in the evening they were viſited by three land birds ſinging, which flew away at day-break, and confirmed the admiral in the opinion that he could not be far from land. Next day, they ſaw a tropic bird, alcatraz, and ſuch a quantity of weeds, as alarmed the people, who began to fear that their courſe would be impeded.

About this time, the wind blew from the ſouth-weſt, which tho' contrary, gave great ſatisfaction

to

to the admiral, in as much as he could now convince the crew of the vanity of their fears, in ſuppoſing, that as the wind had been always right a-ſtern, they ſhould never have a fair gale to carry them back. Yet, in ſpite of all his reaſons and remonſtrances, the crew began to murmur, in apprehenſion of periſhing at ſea, in queſt of a country which was no where to be found; and their diſcontent roſe to ſuch a degree of clamour, that in all probability a mutiny would have enſued, had not a briſk wind ſprung up at weſt-north-weſt, and demonſtrated that they would always have a chance for returning, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of ſome, who had affirmed, that the firſt change was no ſettled breeze, but a tranſient puff, which made no impreſſion upon the ſurface of the ſea: beſides, their hope of land was revived by a turtle that flew over the ſhip, and the flight of ſeveral ſmall birds that came from the weſt.

The more the people were elated by theſe ſigns, the greater was their mortification, when they found themſelves diſappointed: and now, they not only loudly complained, but even began to cabal againſt the admiral, who, they ſaid, from a fooliſh and ill-grounded fancy, had formed the deſign of raiſing his own family and fortune at the expence of their lives and labour; they ſuggeſted to one another, that they had already proceeded far enough to manifeſt their courage and perſeverance, and that it was now high time to return to their friends and country, even if they ſhould be obliged to compel Columbus to gratify their deſire in this particular. They were the more ſanguine in the proſecution of this ſcheme, as they ſuppoſed the admiral, who was a foreigner, could not have intereſt enough at court to bring them to condign puniſhment for their diſobedience and rebellion, eſpecially as they knew he had powerful enemies who would embrace eve-

ry opportunity of fruſtrating his deſigns: nay, to ſuch a pitch of fury were they wrought by their terror and deſpair, that ſome among them actually propoſed to throw him over board, and affirm in Spain that he had dropped into the ſea, while eagerly employed in making his obſervations.

Columbus was not ignorant of this mutinous ſpirit that poſſeſſed his men, and exerted uncommon addreſs in quelling it, ſometimes by repreſenting the duty they owed to him, who was veſted with a legal authority, which he was reſolved to maintain, tho' at the hazard of his life; and ſometimes by reproaching them with their impatience and puſillanimity, which even the moſt apparent ſigns of land could not repreſs. In a word, he refuted their fears, ſoothed their diſquiets, and encouraged their hopes, in ſuch a manner as prevented them from taking any reſolution to the prejudice of the enterprize.

On Tueſday the 25th day of September, about ſun ſetting, Pinzon, whoſe ſhip was along ſide of the admiral, all of a ſudden, called out, land! land! and pointed towards the ſouth-weſt, where they perceived ſomething like an iſland, at the diſtance of five and twenty leagues: this appearance was ſo agreeable to the men, that they gave thanks to God with great fervency of devotion; and tho' Columbus did not in his own mind aſſent to the inference they had drawn, he, in compliance with their clamorous demand, ſtood towards the ſuppoſed iſland, during the beſt part of the night, and in the morning they ſaw it vaniſh in the clouds, ſo that their diſſatisfaction returned, and their clamour was renewed. Nevertheleſs the admiral perſiſted in the execution of his purpoſe, with that ſteadineſs and intrepidity which were peculiar to him. On the Friday following, they caught fiſh with gilded backs, which in all probability were dolphins; and here they

they perceived the currents were altogether irregular. Next day they saw some alcatrazes or gulls, and abundance of flying fish, which are in length about seven or eight inches, furnished with two little membranous wings, or rather broad fins, by the help of which they fly above water when pursued by the dolphins, and very often drop into vessels; for, as their wings become dry in a very little time, the utmost extent of their flight does not exceed a bow-shot.

On Monday, the first day of October, the pilot of the admiral's ship was by account 578 leagues west of the island Ferro; and tho' the reckoning of Columbus amounted to 707, he winked at the other's gross mistake, lest the sailors should be quite dejected by knowing exactly how far they were from home. On the third, seeing no birds, they conjectured that they had slipt between some islands; and the men earnestly entreated the admiral to steer either to the one side or to the other, in quest of the land which they imagined they had left: but he would not comply with their intreaties, because he was unwilling to lose the favourable wind that carried him to the westward, which he accounted his surest course, and would not take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his direction from that which he had all along assured them, would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude of the admiral they interpreted into obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the brink of taking some desperate step to his prejudice, when their fury was appeas'd by the arrival of above forty sparrows, and some other land birds that came from the westward.

On Sunday, the 7th of October, some imperfect signs of land appeared that way, but no man on

board would venture to mention it, becauſe their catholick majeſties had promiſed a penſion of thirty crowns for life, to him who ſhould firſt diſcover land. But, in order to prevent their noiſy exclamations at every trifling ſymptom or conceit, it was likewiſe decreed, that whoſoever ſhould cry land! three days before it was actually made, ſhould forfeit the reward, even tho' he ſhould afterwards prove the diſcoverer.

Notwithſtanding this precaution, the Nina, which being the beſt ſailer, kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoiſted the colours, in token of land: but the farther they ſailed, the more they were convinced of their miſtake; for, the appearance that miſled them totally vaniſhed as they advanced. Next day, however, they were in ſome meaſure conſoled for their diſappointment, by many flights of great fowl and ſmall land birds from the weſt to the ſouth-weſt: and the admiral being fully perſuaded that they could not go far to ſea, he, in imitation of the Portugueze, who had diſcovered many iſlands by following the direction of ſuch birds, altered his courſe and ſtood to the ſouth-weſt, having now run 750 leagues to the weſtward of the Canaries, within which ſpace he had hoped to find Hiſpaniola, which he then called *Cipango*.

On Monday, October 8th, they were viſited by twelve ſinging birds, of different colours, and ſaw a great number of others, great and ſmall, jays, gulls, and ducks, flying towards the ſouth-weſt; they likewiſe perceived the air to be freſh and odoriferous, as at Sevil in the month of April; but the crew had been ſo often deceived, that even theſe certain ſigns could not ſuppreſs their murmurs, which, during the two ſucceeding days, increaſed to ſuch a degree, in ſpite of all the efforts of the admiral, that he would not have been able much longer to withſtand the ſtorm of their diſcontent, which was ready

dy to burſt in open rebellion, when it was providentially diſſipated by ſuch manifeſt tokens of the neighbourhood of land, as they could no longer diſcredit.

On Thurſday, the 11th of October, thoſe on board of the admiral ſaw a green ruſh, together with a large rock fiſh ſwim by the ſhip; the people of the Pinta diſcovered a cane floating, and took up a ſtaff curiouſly wrought, together with a ſmall board, and abundance of weeds, newly waſhed from the banks: at the ſame time, the crew of the Nina perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

The admiral being now aſſured of the vicinity of land, harangued his men at night, after prayers, reminding them of the mercy of God, in granting them fair weather during ſuch a long voyage, and exhorting them to be extremely vigilant for that night, in as much as he firmly expected to ſee land next day; and in order to encourage them to be watchful, he not only mentioned the penſion of thirty crowns, but alſo promiſed to give a velvet doublet to him who ſhould be the firſt diſcoverer. After this ſpeech, he, about ten o'clock at night, retired to the great cabbin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on ſhore, he called to one Peter Gutierres, who being deſired to obſerve, ſaid, he plainly ſaw it, and conjectured it to be a candle or torch belonging to ſome fiſherman or traveller, becauſe it ſeemed to move, and vaniſhed, and appeared by turns. This appearance increaſed their vigilance and caution, tho' they ſtill held on their courſe till about two in the morning, when the Pinta being far a-head gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt diſcovered by a ſailor, called Roderick de Triana, at the diſtance of two leagues: but he did not enjoy the penſion, which was granted to the Admiral, who had before perceived the light.

Being

Being ſo near the ſhore, all the ſhips lay to, and the people waited for morning with the utmoſt impatience of hope, that they might feaſt their eyes with what they had ſo long and ſo eagerly wiſhed to behold.

Day no ſooner broke than they perceived an iſland, about fifteen leagues in length, almoſt one continued plain, without hills, covered with green trees, ſupplied with delicious ſtreams, and a great lake in the middle; and inhabited by a number of people, who ran down to the ſhore aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the ſhips, which they at firſt miſtook for living creatures. As for the Spaniards, they were inflamed by the moſt eager curioſity, to know the particulars of this intereſting diſcovery: and the veſſels were no ſooner brought to an anchor, than the admiral went aſhoar with his boat well armed, and the royal ſtandard diſplayed, being attended by the other two captains in their reſpective boats, with the particular enſigns of this enterprize, diſtinguiſhed by an F. with a green croſs on one ſide, and the names of Ferdinand and Iſabella crowned on the other.

As ſoon as they landed, they kneeled on the ſhore, giving thanks to God for his indulgence, and kiſſed the ground while they ſhed tears of joy; then the admiral ſtanding up, called the iſland St. Salvador, and took poſſeſſion of it for their catholick majeſties in the uſual words, and with the ſolemnity proper on ſuch occaſions. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy, by the Spaniards, who joyfully ſwore to obey him as the repreſentative of their majeſties, and implored his pardon for the affronts and inſults he had ſuſtained, from their fear, and want of reſolution.

A great number of the Indians being preſent at the tranſaction, and appearing to be be very ſimple, quiet,

THE WEST INDIES.

Longitude W. from London

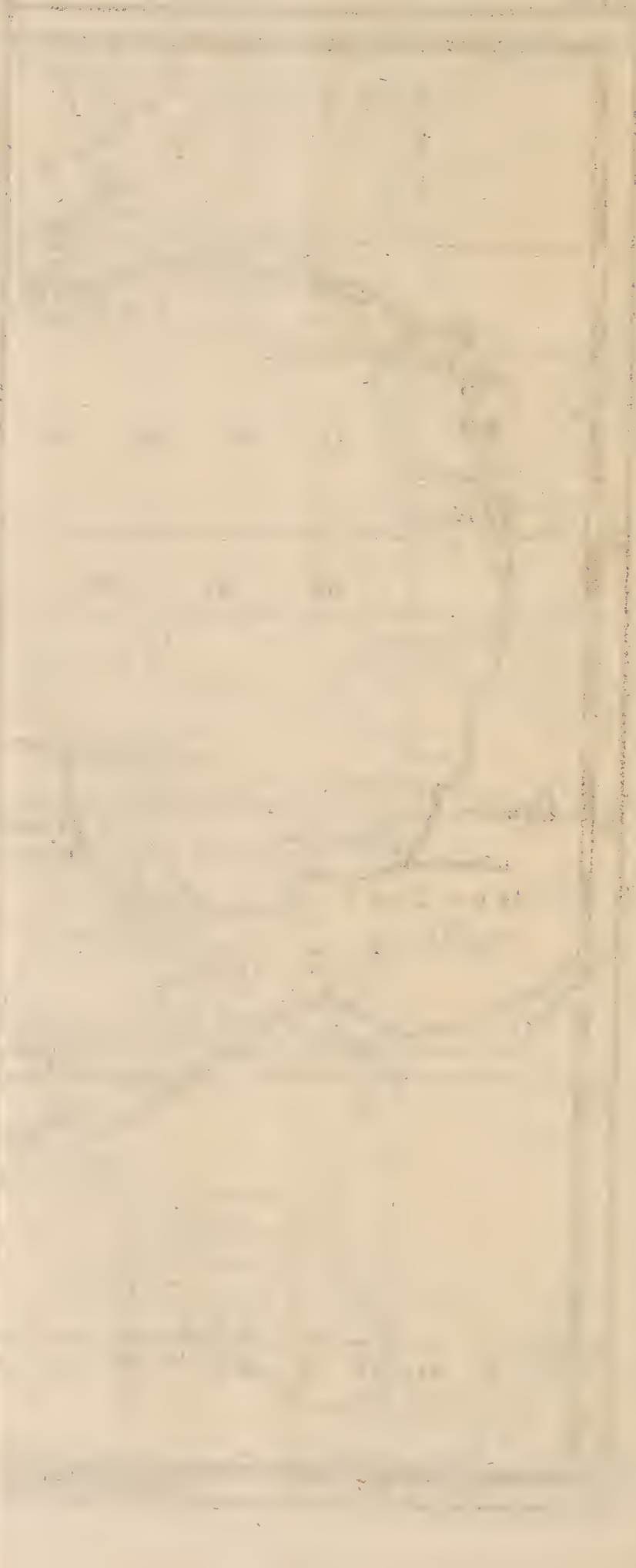
97. 35 87. 35 77. 35 57. 35

Longitude W. from Ferro 80 70 60 50

30 25 20 15 10

C. Fear
C. Carteret
Charles T.
Savana
St. Simons R.
St. Johns R.
St. Augustin
Chactaws
Creek
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
New Orleans
Mouths of the Mississipi R.
C. Encondido
Apalache B.
B. St. Bernard or St. Lewis
C. Canaveral
Bahama I.
LUCAYES or BAHAMA ISLANDS
Lucayo I.
Alebaster I.
St. Salvador or Cat I. 1492
Bahama Canal
Rio Bravo
Desmut I.
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Tropic of Cancer
C. Hicacos
Long I.
Crooked I.
Mayaguana
Havana
CUBA
C. St. Antony
Alacranes
C. Catoche
C. Desconocida
Pines I.
C. del Gada
Mexico
BAY OF CAMPECHE
St. Juan de Ulloa
Campeche
YUCATAN
I. Cozumel
C. Cruz
St. Jago
C. Mayi
Turks
Obresio
CARIBBEE or WIND WARD ISLES
La Vera Cruz
GUAXACA
NEW SPAIN
Guaxaca
Port Triste
Logwood Creeks
TABASCO
Chiapa
Ascension B.
BAY OF HONDURAS
Cayman Is.
JAMAICA
C. Negril
Port Royal
C. Morant
St. Ilds
HISPANIOLA
San Domingo
C. Canana
C. de la Beata
PORTO RICO
San Juan
St. Thomas
Virgin Gorda
Anguilla
St. Christopher
Nevis
Montserat
Antigoa
Guadelupe
Dominica
Martinico
St. Lucia
St. Vincent
Barbadoes
Tabago
Trinidad
Paria
Boca Grande
C. Nassau
Acapulco
Sta Acapulco C.
Santilina or Swans I.
Bueton
C. Honduras
Truxillo
MUSQUITOS
C. Gracios a Dios
Bajo del Combo
Dulce Gulf
GUATIMALA
HONDURAS
Guatimala
St. Catalina or Providence
Pearl I?
B. of Amapala
NICARAGUA
Nicaragua
Nicaragua L.
R. St. John
G. Papagayo
C. St. Catalina
COSTA RICA
R. St. Antony
C. Blanco
G. de Salinas
Portobello
PANAMA
Ruinas
G. of Darien
DARIEN
Quicara
Quibo I.
Punta Mala
C. de la Vela
C. Galera
Carthagena
C. Coquibacoa
Curasao
Aves I?
Orchilla
Blanco
Margarita
LEEWARD ISLES
C. Roman
G. Triest
G. Triaruida
Porto Cabello
CARACAS
VENEZUELA
SOUTH AMERICA
TIERRA FIRMA
SOUTH SEA
NORTH SEA
THE ANTILLES

J. Jeffrys sculp.



quiet, and peaceable, Columbus diſtributed among them ſome red caps, ſtrings of glaſs beads, and other things of ſmall value, which they received with tranſport, and ſeemed to prize at a very high rate. Nay, when he returned to his ſhip, ſome of them ſwam after him, and others followed in canoes with parrots, bottoms of ſpun cotton, javelins, and other trifles, to barter for beads, bells, and other inconſiderable toys. Few of them ſeemed to be above the age of thirty. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, generally cut ſhort above the ears, tho' in ſome it had grown down to their ſhoulders, and was tied about their head like the treſſes of women; their countenances were open, and their features regular, but their high foreheads gave a wildneſs to their aſpect. The faces of ſome, and bodies of others, were painted black, white, and red, tho' in a few, the noſes and eyes only were coloured; and all of them, female as well as male, were ſtark naked. So little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked ſword by the edge, without ſuſpecting its miſchievous quality; and as they were deſtitute of iron, they uſed javelins of wood, armed with fiſh bone.

Some of them being aſked by ſigns, how they had acquired the wounds, the marks of which they ſtill retained on their bodies, anſwered, in the ſame kind of language, that they received them in their own defence, againſt the inhabitants of other iſlands, who came with a view to enſlave them. They ſeemed to be an ingenious people, and poſſeſſed a volubility of tongue, ſo as to repeat the words they heard with a very diſtinct pronunciation: and the only ſpecies of living creatures that the iſland produced, were parrots, which they bartered to the Chriſtians, as we have already obſerved.

Next day, being the 13th of October, in the morning, a great number of theſe Indians came aboard in their canoes, which are made by hollowing the trunk of a tree, ſome of them being ſo ſmall as to hold one perſon only, and others large enough to contain forty; they are rowed with paddles, and ſo light, that if they chance to be overſet, the rowers can eaſily ſet them upright again, and empty the water with calabaſhes, which they keep for that purpoſe.

They had no jewels, nor was any kind of metal found among them, except ſome ſmall plates of gold that hung at their noſtrils, and as they expreſſed by ſigns came from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, where there were many princes, iſlands, and countries.

They were ſo greedy of poſſeſſing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that if they could pick up a bit of broken earthen ware upon the deck, they would leap into the ſea and ſwim aſhore with it; and they would exchange any thing they had for the greateſt trifles, inſomuch that ſome of them gave five and twenty pounds of well ſpun cotton for three ſmall pieces of Portugueze braſs coin not worth a farthing; not that they believed the things they purchaſed, had in themſelves much intrinſick value, but becauſe they belonged to the white men, whom they looked upon as people deſcended from heaven, and of whom they deſired to retain ſome memorial.

Next Sunday, being the 15th of October, the admiral in his boats, coaſted the iſland towards the north-weſt, until he found a large bay or harbour, large enough to contain all the ſhips of Chriſtendom. In this circuit he was attended by crowds of the inhabitants, who followed him by ſea and land, expreſſing their wonder and regard by a thouſand geſticulations; and arrived at a peninſula,

peninſula, where he ſaw half a dozen of their houſes and plantations, as pleaſant as thoſe of Caſtile in the month of May. But, finding this was not the land he looked for, he took ſeven of theſe Indians to ſerve as interpreters, and returning to his ſhips ſailed on the diſcovery of other iſlands that were diſcernible from the peninſula, reported by the inhabitants of St. Salvador to be fruitful and populous.

On Monday, having ſailed ſeven leagues, he arrived at the weſt end of one, about ten leagues in length, which he denominated St. Mary of the Conception; but, perceiving no difference between the inhabitants of this iſland and thoſe of St. Salvador, nor any thing elſe worth notice in its productions, he continued his courſe weſtward, and anchored upon the coaſt of another larger iſland, extending north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, above eight and twenty leagues. Before he reached this pleaſant ſpot, which he named Fernandina, he took up at ſea an Indian in a ſmall canoe, furniſhed with a piece of their bread, a calabaſh full of water, and a little earth like vermilion, with which thoſe people paint their bodies; he was likewiſe provided with ſome dry leaves, valued for their agreeable and wholeſome ſmell; and a little baſket, containing a ſtring of glaſs beads, and two ſmall pieces of Portugueze money; from which circumſtances it appeared he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernandina, with the ſtrange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long, he was weary with paddling, and deſired to be taken on board. Columbus granted his requeſt, treated him courteouſly, and ſent him on ſhore, that he might prepoſſeſs the natives of Fernandina in favour of the new comers. The ſucceſs anſwered the admiral's expectation; for, in conſequence of the favourable account given by the Indian, the iſlanders came aboard in their canoes, to barter with

the

the ſame ſort of commodities which were found at St. Salvador; but they ſeemed to have more ſagacity than the other, and made more advantageous bargains; they had ſome cotton cloth in their houſes, and the women wore a kind of ſhort petticoat or ſwathe round the middle. Here were ſome trees that ſeemed to have been ingrafted, as they bore leaves or branches of four or five ſeveral ſorts: there was plenty of fiſh, of different ſhapes and colours, lizzards and ſnakes, and ſome dogs, which however did not bark; their houſes were built like tents, almoſt entirely void of furniture; and the beds in which they lay, were like nets hanging from two poſts, and drawn together in the nature of a ſling.

Finding nothing valuable in this iſland, Columbus, on Friday, October 19th, ſailed to another, on which he beſtowed the name of Iſabella, in honour of her moſt catholick majeſty. This, in goodneſs, beauty and extent, far exceeded the others; for, beſides that it abounded with delicious ſtreams, pleaſant meadows and groves, the proſpect was diverſified with hills, which the reſt wanted. The admiral enamoured of its beauty, landed to perform the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion, and walked through ſome meadows as green and delightful as thoſe of Spain in the month of April. Here the ear was raviſhed with the ſongs of nightingales and other birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew through the air in ſuch ſwarms, as darkened the day. Near one of the lakes, of which there was great plenty, the Spaniards, with their ſpears, killed an alligator ſeven feet long, which tho' at that time they looked upon with horror, they afterwards ſkinned and ate, as the moſt delicious food uſed among the Indians, by whom they are called yvanas.

Proceeding towards the inland parts, they arrived at a town, the people of which fled with all the goods

goods they could carry off; but, the admiral forbidding his men to touch any thing they had left, their fear ſoon ſubſided; and they, of their own accord, came down to the ſhips to barter.

Columbus, having made himſelf acquainted with the produce of Iſabella, and the manners of its inhabitants, was unwilling to loſe more time among thoſe iſlands which reſembled one another ſo much; and therefore he ſet ſail with a fair wind for a large country, extolled by the Indians under the name of Cuba, lying towards the ſouth, at the north ſide of which he arrived on Sunday the 28th of October.

This iſland at firſt ſight juſtified what had been ſaid in its praiſe; for it exhibited a moſt enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and appeared to be of great conſequence, by the greatneſs and extent of its coaſts and rivers.

In order to obtain ſome intelligence of the natives, the admiral anchored in a large river, the banks of which were ſhaded by thick and tall trees, adorned with bloſſoms and fruit altogether unknown in Europe: theſe were tenanted by a great number of birds, and the ground was clothed with graſs of a moſt luxuriant growth. The Spaniards, not far from this place, entered two houſes which were deſerted by the people, who terrified at the appearance of the ſhips, had betaken themſelves to flight, leaving their nets and fiſhing-tackle, together with a dog that did not bark. However, they ſuſtained no dammage; for the Chriſtians, without touching any of their utenſils, reimbarked, and continued their courſe weſtward, until they arrived at the mouth of another river, which the admiral called de Mares. This being more conſiderable than the other, the ſhips entered and ſailed up a good way, and the banks were all along inhabited; but here too the natives fled, with all the effects they could carry, to

the

the mountains, which appeared round and lofty, covered with verdant plants and ſtately trees.

Columbus foreſeeing that he ſhould never be able to learn the nature of the iſland, if the inhabitants ſhould continue to avoid him in this manner; and reflecting, that in caſe he ſhould land with a number of men, their terror would be increaſed, he ordered two Chriſtians, attended by an Indian of St. Salvador, and another of Cuba who had ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and behave obligingly to the people they ſhould find; and in the mean time he directed the ſhip to be careened: on which occaſion he obſerved that all their fuel was maſtick wood, of which there was great plenty all over the iſland.

The ſhip was repaired and ready to ſail by the 5th of November, when the two ambaſſadors returned, accompanied by two Indians of rank, and informed the amiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town conſiſting of fifty wooden houſes covered with ſtraw, made like thoſe in the other iſlands, which altogegether contained about one thouſand perſons; that they were met by the principal men of the place, who led them by the arms to the town, where they were accommodated with a ſpacious lodging, in which they ſat upon wooden ſeats, formed in the ſhapes of ſtrange animals, with their tails lifted up for leaning places, and eyes and ears of gold. While the Chriſtians lolled upon theſe benches, called *duchi*, the Indians ſat around them on the floor, and then came one by one to kiſs the hands and feet of the ſtrangers, whom they ſuppoſed had come from heaven: they, at the ſame time, treated them with ſome boiled roots, not unlike cheſnuts in taſte, and earneſtly entreated them to ſtay ſome days, in order to repoſe and refreſh themſelves. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hoſpitality, they retired

and

and made room for the women, who, with the ſame expreſſions of veneration, kiſſed the hands and feet of the Spaniards, whom they likewiſe entertained with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two Indian attendants, who had repreſented the Chriſtians as a humane and generous people. When they ſet out on their return for the ſhip, a great number of people propoſed to accompany them, but they refuſed this courteous offer, and would accept of none but the king and his ſon, whom the admiral treated with great civility and reſpect. In their return, under the protection of this eſcorte, the two Spaniards had been kindly entertained at ſeveral petty towns, and met with a great number of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle their fires, with which they roaſted thoſe roots which conſtituted their chief food, and to perfume themſelves with certain herbs they gather'd for that purpoſe. They likewiſe ſaw a variety of birds and fowl, among which were partridges and nightingales, but no quadrupeds, except thoſe ſilent dogs we have already mentioned: great part of the land was cultivated and bore, beſides the bread-root, and a ſort of beans, a kind of grain called *maiz*, of which was made a very well taſted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, of which the Chriſtians ſaw vaſt quantities well ſpun; and this they gather from trees that grow ſpontaneouſly, without the leaſt care or culture. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board of the ſhips, where they exchanged a baſketful for a thong of leather; indeed it could be of no great value to themſelves, inaſmuch as they go naked, and make nothing of it but hammocks and ſhort aprons for the women.

They had no gold, pearls or ſpice, but pointed towards the eaſt, to a country called Bohio, in which

which there was great plenty---It was in conſequence of this information that the admiral reſolved to ſail thither; but before he departed from Cuba, he took twelve Indians, men, women and children, whom he intended to carry into Spain; and this ſeizure was made with ſo little diſturbance, that a man who was huſband to one of the females, came aboard in his canoe, and begged he might accompany his wife and children: the admiral being very well pleaſed with this inſtance of natural affection, granted his requeſt, and treated them with great tenderneſs.

That ſame day being the 13th of November, he returned to the eaſtward for the iſland Bohio; but the wind blowing hard at north, he was obliged to come to an anchor again, among ſome highlands near a large harbour which he called *del Principe:* the ſea in the neighbourhood of this port, being covered with iſlands that lay ſo cloſe together, that the greateſt diſtance between any two of them did not exceed a quarter of a league: they produced a number of green trees, among others the maſtick, aloes and palm, and though they were not inhabited, the people of Cuba reſort to them in their canoes, and live ſometime upon them, ſupported by the fiſh and fowl they catch, together with what they find upon the ſurface of the earth; for they are not at all nice in their appetite: on the contrary, they make no ſcruple to eat what we think not only unclean but even venemous, ſuch as ſpiders, raw fiſh and worms that breed in rotten wood---In one of theſe iſlands, the Spaniards killed a beaſt like a Badger, caught a fiſh that reſembled an hog, found a good quantity of mother of pearl in the ſea, and obſerved that the riſe and fall of the tide was more inconſiderable than in any other place which they had viſited in theſe ſeas.

On

On Monday, November 19th, Columbus put to ſea from Prince's Port, ſteering eaſtward for the iſland of Bohio or Hiſpaniola; but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the iſlands of Cuba and Iſabella; and in this interval, he was deſerted by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who having been informed by ſome Indians whom he concealed in his caraval, that Bohio abounded with gold, made uſe of the advantage he derived from his veſſel which was a prime ſailer, and left Columbus in the night, with a view to anticipate his ſucceſs, and engroſs the treaſure of that wealthy country.---The admiral being thus abandoned by one of his conſorts, and the weather growing ſo rough that he could not keep the ſea, he returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he named St. Catherine's: here while the crews were employed in taking in wood and water, he by accident perceived ſigns of gold on ſome ſtones in the river, and, farther up in the country, ſaw mountains covered with ſuch tall pines as would furniſh maſts for the largeſt ſhips; and there was plenty of excellent oak for planks. In his run along the coaſt, for ten or twelve leagues to the ſouth-eaſt, he diſcovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was ſo raviſhed with the beauty of the country, that in mentioning the place which he called Puerto ſanto, he ſays he entered the river where he found from five to eight fathoms of water; and proceeding a conſiderable way farther up in his boat, he was delighted with the tranſparency of the water, through which he could plainly ſee the ſandy bottom, and with abundance and variety of verdant plains and lofty trees, inhabited by birds of different notes and plumage; ſo that he was even tempted in this delicious ſpot to fix his habitation for life. In this progreſs he ſaw a canoe drawn upon land, as large as a twelve oar barge, and in

an

an houſe hard by, he found a ball of wax and a man's ſkull in two baſkets hanging at a poſt: but, no perſon appeared, from whom they could receive the leaſt information. They afterwards ſaw another canoe ſeventy feet in length, capable of containing fifty men, tho' made from the ſimple trunk of a tree.

Columbus having ſailed 106 leagues along ſhore, arrived at the eaſt end of Cuba, which he called Alpha; and on Wedneſday, December 5th, ſtruck off for Hiſpaniola, which, tho' but at the diſtance of ſixteen leagues, he was by the currents prevented from reaching till next day, when he anchored in port St. Nicholas, ſo named by him in honour of that ſaint whoſe feſtival it happened to be. This harbour is large, deep, ſafe, and encompaſſed with many tall trees; tho' the country is rocky, and the trees in general not ſo large as thoſe of Cuba; here however he found ſmall oaks, myrtle and other ſhrubs, with a pleaſant river that ran along a plain towards the port, round which he ſaw canoes as large as 15 oar barges. However, he could not eſtabliſh any intercourſe with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, ſo that he ran along the coaſt to the northward, until he arrived at a port which he called the Conception, lying almoſt due ſouth of a ſmall iſland afterwards known by the name of Tortuga.

Obſerving that this land of Bohio was very extenſive, and reſembled the coaſt of Spain not only in the trees and plants, but alſo in the fiſhes; for they had caught ſoles, ſalmon, pilchards and crabs; the admiral beſtowed upon it the appellation of Eſpannola---Here he ſaw numbers of natives who fled from his men with great precipitation; but at length, having caught a young woman who had a plate of gold hanging at her noſe, ſhe was carried to the ſhips and preſented with ſeveral baubles,

ſuch

ſuch as bells, and glaſs, then, without having received the leaſt inſult, diſmiſſed to the town where ſhe dwelt, attended by three Indians and as many Spaniards.

Next day, eleven men going aſhore well armed, travelled four leagues up the country to a town or village conſiſting of a thouſand houſes, and tho' the inhabitants betook themſelves to their heels, as uſual, they ſoon returned, at the perſuaſion of a St. Salvador Indian, who went after them, and repreſented the Chriſtians in a favourable light. Being now poſſeſſed with a firm belief that the Spaniards had come from heaven, they gazed upon them with equal aſtoniſhment and awe, preſented them with victuals, and preſſed them to ſtay all night in their village. The Spaniards declined accepting this invitation, and returning to the ſhips, reported that the county was pleaſant and fertile, and the people whiter and handſomer than thoſe whom they had hitherto ſeen; that they were tractable and courteous, and gave them to underſtand that the gold country lay farther to the eaſtward.

The admiral hearing this account, ſet ſail immediately; and on the 15th day of December, while he plied between Hiſpaniola and Tortuga, in a very rough ſea, he took up an Indian from a little canoe, whom he was ſurprized to ſee live in ſuch tempeſtuous weather, and ſet him ſafe aſhore, with ſome preſents of ſmall value. This man having ſignified to his countrymen how kindly he had been treated, they ventured to come aboard, but brought nothing of conſequence, except ſome ſmall grains of gold hanging to their ears and noſtrils, of which, as they expreſſed by ſigns, there was a great quantity higher up in the country.

Next day, while the Spaniards were on ſhore, bartering with the cacique or lord of that diſtrict for a plate of gold, a canoe with forty men ap-

proached from the iſland of Tortuga, and the cacique no ſooner perceived them, than he and his people ſat down on the ſtrand, in ſignal that they ſhould not commit hoſtilities: notwithſtanding this token of peace, they landed; upon which he roſe, and by dint of threats induced them to re-embark, then he preſented a ſtone to one of the Spaniſh officers, deſiring him to throw it at the Tortugans, as a proof that he would eſpouſe the cauſe of the Chriſtians againſt the Indians of the canoe, who immediately returned to their own iſland.

On Tueſday December 18th, the ſame cacique came down in ſtate, being carried on a palankine, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himſelf; he without ſcruple went on board of the admiral, who was at dinner, and entered the cabbin without ceremony, accompanied by two antient men, who ſeemed to be his chief counſellors, and ſat down at his feet. He was received with great civility and reſpect, and treated with victuals and wine, which having taſted, he ſent to his people who remained on deck. After dinner, during which he and his miniſters ſpoke very little, and that with great gravity and deliberation, he preſented the admiral with a wrought girdle and two thin pieces of gold; in return for which he received a counterpane, a ſtring of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red ſhoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water, which were ſo agreeable to the prince, that he and his counſellors told Columbus the whole iſland was at his command.---Then the admiral ſurprized him with the ſight of a gold medal ſtamped with the effigies of Ferdinand and Iſabella, which he conſidered with admiration, and indeed expreſſed ſigns of aſtoniſhment at every thing he ſaw. In the evening he was, at his own deſire, ſent aſhore in the ſhip's boat, and ſaluted with the diſcharge of ſeveral guns, the noiſe

noiſe of which filled him with terror and amazement: however, he was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land, and returned to the place of his reſidence, the admiral's preſents being carried before him with great pomp and oſtentation.

On Monday the 24th of December, the admiral weighed and ſailed to Punta Sancta, where he anchored about a league from ſhore, and the weather being quite calm, he retired to reſt, which he had not enjoyed for two days: the crew followed his example, and contrary to the orders he had always given, left a boy at the helm. This their neglect and diſobedience proved fatal to the veſſel, which about midnight was carried by the current upon a ridge of rocks, before one ſoul on board was aware of the danger. The admiral himſelf was the firſt, who being waked by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, where perceiving their ſituation, he ordered the maſter and three ſailors to take the boat and carry out an anchor aſtern. They accordingly jumped into the boat, but inſtead of obeying his directions, rowed to the other caraval, for the preſervation of their own lives: he immediately cauſed the maſts to be cut away, and the veſſel to be lightened as much as poſſible; but all his efforts were ineffectual, and the water ebbing away, her ſeams opened, and all below deck was full of water. In this emergency, the boat returned from the other caraval, which would not receive the men who had run away with her; and the admiral ſeeing no hopes of ſaving his own ſhip, carried his men on board of the other, with which he lay to till morning, and then approached the land within the ſhoal, after having diſpatched meſſengers to inform the king of his misfortune, and ſollicit the aſſiſtance of the natives

in unloading the veſſel. The cacique condoled the Chriſtians with tears in his eyes, and ordered his people to repair in their canoes to the wreck, and obey the admiral's directions. By the aſſiſtance of theſe honeſt and friendly ſavages, every thing of value was carried aſhore, and depoſited in houſes appointed for that purpoſe, which were guarded with ſuch vigilance and fidelity, that nothing of any conſequence was loſt.

On Wedneſday December 26th, this hoſpitable prince made another viſit to the admiral, whom he conſoled for his loſs with many demonſtrations of ſorrow and ſympathy, told him he might command his whole fortune, preſented him with ſome vizor maſks, the eyes, noſe and ears of which were made of gold, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of that metal, promiſed to ſend for a great quantity from a place called Cebao: mean while a canoe arrived from ſome other iſland, with Indians who brought plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above every other commodity; and the ſeamen aſhore carried on a trade with the natives of Hiſpaniola, who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles.

Columbus was ſo well pleaſed with the nature and productions of this iſland, as well as with the manners of the inhabitants, that he reſolved to ſettle a colony of Spaniards, who, by maintaining a friendly intercourſe with the natives, might learn their language and cuſtoms, and acquire ſuch information of the wealth and ſituation of the different parts of the iſland, as could not fail turning out greatly to the advantage of Spain. This ſtep he was the more encouraged to take, becauſe many of his men voluntarily offered to ſtay, and the cacique, far from taking umbrage at their neighbourhood, conſidered them as valuable allies, who would

would protect them from the invasions of the Caribee Indians, a savage race of Canibals, by whom his subjects were frequently killed and devoured.--- In order to evince the importance of his friendship, he, in presence of this prince, whose name was Guacanagari, ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the wreck, through which the bullet penetrated, and fell into the water on the other side, to the amazement of the Indians, who believed that their guests were in possession of heaven's thunder, and earnestly implored their protection.

It was therefore seemingly in compliance with the cacique's request, that the admiral ordered a tower to be built of the timber of the wrecked vessel, and this being furnished with provision, ammunition, arms and cannon, he manned it with a garrison of six and thirty men, under the joint command of James d' Arana, Peter Gutierres and Roderick d' Eskovedo, whom he earnestly recommended to the favour and good offices of the king and his people. Having provided this fort with all necessaries, including the boat belonging to the ship that was lost, he resolved to return directly to Castile, lest some other misfortune happening to the only ship that now remained, might disable him for ever from giving their Catholic majesties information of the important discoveries he had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions. Having therefore made all the requisite preparations for the voyage, he set sail from the port of Nativity, where he had settled this first Christian colony, on Friday the 4th day of January at sun-rising, and standing to the northwest, to get clear of the shoal water, took such marks of the land as would enable him to know the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being contrary, he had made but little

way to the eaſtward, when on Sunday morning he fell in with the caraval Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who going on board, endeavoured to excuſe his deſertion, by ſaying he had loſt ſight of the admiral in the night, and alledging other frivolous reaſons, the fallacy of which tho' Columbus plainly ſaw, he diſguiſed his ſentiments, rather than run any riſque of prejudicing the common cauſe, by giving riſe to a dangerous diſſenſion; for, almoſt all the people engaged in this expedition were either relations or townſmen of Pinzon.

He had ſailed to a river fifteen leagues to the eaſtward of the Nativity, where he ſpent ſixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had obtained a large quantity, and diſtributed one half among his crew, in order to acquire popularity, as well as their conſent to keep what remained for his own uſe: ſo that he carefully concealed his ſucceſs from the knowledge of the admiral. After this tranſaction, he anchored at Monte Chriſto, a round hill like a pavilion, about eighteen leagues eaſt of Cape Santo; but, the weather not permitting him to proceed, he went in his boat up a river to the ſouth-weſt of the mount, and diſcovering ſome ſigns of gold duſt in the ſand, called it the river of gold, being ſeventeen leagues to the eaſtward of the Nativity.

On Sunday January 13th, being near Cape Enamorado, the admiral ſent his boat aſhore, where there ſtood ſome Indians with fierce countenances, armed with bows and arrows, making a ſhow of oppoſition, tho' they ſeemed to be in great conſternation. However, by the mediation of the Salvador linguiſt, they were brought to a kind of conference, and one of them venturing to go on board of the admiral, appeared ſo ferocious, both in his ſpeech, and aſpect, which was ſmutted with charcoal, that

that the Spaniards concluded he was one of the Caribbee Canibals, and that the bay parted this place from Hiſpaniola: but, when the admiral inquired about the country of the Carribees, he pointed with his finger to an iſland farther eaſt, and gave him to underſtand that there was another near it, wholly inhabited by women with whom the Carribees converſed at a certain ſeaſon of the year, and carried off all the male children that ſprung from their embraces. Having anſwered all theſe interrogations, partly by ſigns and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was entertained with victuals, and ſet aſhore, with preſents of glaſs beads, and bits of red and green cloth, that he might perſuade his countrymen to bring down gold to barter.---At the place where he was landed, there was a ſort of ambuſcade of fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers; who being armed with bows and arrows, and great cudgels in lieu of ſwords, refuſed to carry on any trade with the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the exhortations of their friend, but, on the contrary treated them with ſcorn, and even began to commit hoſtilities. The Chriſtians, who were but ſeven in all, ſeeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and charging them with great intrepidity, cut one with a ſword on the buttock, and ſhot another with an arrow in the breaſt, to the terror and diſcomfiture of the whole party, who forthwith turned their backs and fled, leaving their bows and arrows on the ſpot; and many of them would certainly have been killed, had not the pilot of the caraval interpoſed in their behalf. The admiral was not diſpleaſed at this ſkirmiſh, which he thought would inſpire the Indians with ſuch high notions of the valour of the Chriſtians, as would hinder them from making any attempts to the prejudice of the ſettlement at the

Nativity: for, he did not doubt that all the inhabitants of the iſland would ſoon hear, how ſeven Spaniards had attacked, and routed above fifty of their moſt warlike natives.

Their bows were of yew, and very near as large as thoſe uſed in France and England, and the arrows made of ſmall ſtreight ſolid twigs, about a yard in length, armed with fiſh-bone ſmeared with poiſon; ſo that the admiral gave to this gulph, which the Indians called Samana, the name of Golfo de Flechas, that is the Gulph of Arrows. Here they ſaw abundance of fine cotton, and axi, which is a very pungent kind of pepper, much in requeſt among the natives; and on the ſhore grew a vaſt quantity of thoſe weeds they had ſeen floating in the ſea, during their paſſage from the Canaries.

On Wedneſday January 16th, both caravals being in a leaky condition, the admiral ſet ſail for Spain from the gulph of Samana, and Cape St. Elmo was the laſt land they ſaw. When they had run about forty leagues to the north-eaſt, the ſea ſeemed to be covered with ſmall tunny fiſhes, abundance of which they ſaw for two or three days ſucceſſively, together with great numbers of ſea fowl. Continuing their courſe with a fair wind, they made ſo much way, that on the 9th day of February, in the opinion of the pilots, they were ſouth of the iſlands Azores; but by the admiral's account, they were ſhort of them 150 leagues; and he was in the right: for, they ſtill ſaw abundance of thoſe weeds which they had not diſcovered in their paſſage to the Weſt-Indies, until they were 263 leagues to the weſtward of Ferro.

After having hitherto enjoyed a favourable gale, the wind began to riſe, and the ſea to run mountains high; and they were overtaken by ſuch a tempeſt on the 14th of February, that they could not

not work their veſſels, which were toſſed about at the mercy of the ſtorm. The caraval Pinta being incapable of ſailing upon a wind, ran away due north before it, and in the night loſt ſight of the admiral, who ſteered north-eaſt, in order to fetch the coaſt of Spain. In conſequence of this ſeparation, the company of each caraval concluded that the other had periſhed, and betaking themſelves to acts of devotion, it fell to the admiral's lot to go a pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of Guadaloupe; one of the ſeamen was deſtined to go to Loretto, and another to watch a whole night at St. Olave of Moguer: in a word, the fury of the wind and ſea ſtill increaſing, the whole company joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their ſhirts to ſome church dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, upon the firſt land that ſhould receive them. Their ſituation was rendered ſtill more deplorable by the ſcarcity of proviſion, and the want of ballaſt, by which the ſhip was in danger of being overſet. To remedy this inconvenience, the admiral ordered his caſks to be filled with ſea water, and that his diſcovery might have ſome chance of being known, whatever might be the fate of him and his people, he wrote a brief account of it upon two ſkins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil cloths, covered with wax, and put into ſeparate caſks, which he threw into the ſea after their bungs were well ſecured: hoping that one or other might be taken up by ſome European veſſel.

Before this ſtorm had in the leaſt abated, on Friday the 15th of February, at break of day, one of the ſailors from the round top diſcovered land to the eaſt-north-eaſt, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Liſbon, tho' the admiral ſuppoſed it to be one of the Azores: but the weather being unruly and the wind blowing off ſhore, they diſco-

vered another, which proved to be St. Mary, where they made ſhift to anchor on Monday, tho' not without great labour and difficulty, the admiral being lame of both legs, in conſequence of the fatigue he had undergone. The inhabitants of this iſland, who came on board with ſome freſh proviſions, and many compliments from the governor, who lived at the town which was at a great diſtance, were amazed at the ſucceſs of the expedition, and ſeemed to rejoice at the diſcovery of Columbus. They were likewiſe ſurprized to ſee he had outlived the ſtorm, which, according to their account, had laſted fifteen days without intermiſſion; and as they ſaid, there was in this neighbourhood an hermitage dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, the admiral and crew reſolved to perform their vow by walking thither barefoot, eſpecially as the people and governor expreſſed ſuch affection, and belonged to a prince in amity with their Caſtilian majeſties.

He therefore ſent the caraval's boat aſhore, with one half of the company, to fulfil this penance, with orders to return immediately, that the reſt might ſucceed them in the ſame ſort of devotion: but, they had no ſooner undreſſed themſelves and begun their proceſſion, than they were attacked and made priſoners by the governor, and a number of people who had lain in ambuſh for that purpoſe. Columbus having waited in vain, from daybreak till noon, for the return of the boat, began to ſuſpect foul play, and as he could not, where he lay, diſcover the hermitage, he ſailed round a point from whence he could ſee it, and perceived a good many Portugueſe on horſeback alight and enter the boat, with intent, as he ſuppoſed, to attack the caraval. He therefore ordered his men to be upon their guard, and was not without hope that the commander would come on board, in which caſe he would have detained him as an hoſtage:

but as the Portugueſe would not advance beyond a certain diſtance, the admiral demanded their reaſon for committing ſuch an outrage upon his men, who had gone aſhore upon the faith of a ſafe conduct, and gave him to underſtand that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at ſuch behaviour to the ſubjects of their catholic majeſties, with whom he was in alliance. To this remonſtrance, the Portugueſe captain anſwered, that what they had done was by the expreſs order of the king; ſo that Columbus imagining there was a breach between the two crowns, called all his people to bear witneſs to what they had heard, and directing his diſcourſe to the Portugueſe, ſwore he would never quit the caraval, until he ſhould have taken 100 Portugueſe, and deſtroyed the whole iſland. Mean while he returned to the port he had left, but next day the wind increaſing, and his riding being unſafe, he loſt his anchors, and was obliged to ſtand out to ſea towards the iſland of St. Michael, tho' not without being expoſed to great danger, as he had but three able ſeamen left, the reſt being boys, Indians and landmen, who underſtood nothing of ſea affairs---Next day, the weather being mild, he endeavoured to recover the iſland of St. Mary, which he reached on Thurſday 21ſt, in the afternoon, and ſoon after his arrival, the boat came off with five men and a notary, who upon proper ſecurity went on board, and deſired to know, in the governor's name, whence the ſhip came, and whether or not the admiral had the king of Spain's commiſſion. Being ſatisfied in theſe particulars, they went aſhore, and releaſed the Spaniards, who had been informed that the king of Portugal had ſent orders to all his governors, to ſecure, if poſſible, the perſon of the admiral; and that, as this ſcheme did not ſucceed, they had diſmiſſed the priſoners whom they had taken.

Columbus having recovered his men, departed from the iſland of St. Mary, on Sunday the 24th of February, being in great want of wood and ballaſt, though the wind was favourable. On the 3d of March they were expoſed to another tempeſt, attended with lightning and thunder, during which their ſails were ſplit; and they vowed another pilgrimage to our lady de Cinta at Guelva: they now ran under their bare poles through a terrible ſea, and had well nigh been loſt on the rock of Liſbon, which they accidentally diſcovered at midnight: this they weathered with great difficulty; and next day being obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, the admiral ſent away an expreſs to their catholic majeſties with the news of his arrival; and another to the king of Portugal, aſking leave to anchor before the city, as he did not think himſelf ſafe in his preſent ſituation.

On Tueſday March 5th, the maſter of a great guardſhip came, with a boat full of armed men along ſide of the admiral, whom he required to go and give an account of himſelf to the king's officers, according to the practice of all ſhips that entered that river. To this ſummons Columbus replied, that as the king of Spain's admiral, he would not degrade himſelf ſo far as to comply with any ſuch cuſtom, nor would he ſend the moſt inconſiderable perſon belonging to his ſhip upon an errand of that nature. The Portugueſe finding him reſolute, deſired he would ſhew him the king of Spain's letter, that he might ſo far ſatisfy his captain; and this requeſt being complied with, he returned to his ſhip, and made a ſuitable report to his commander Alvaro de Acunha, who forthwith came on board the caraval, attended with fifes, drums, and trumpets, and welcomed the admiral with many expreſſions of friendſhip and good-will. The nature of the voyage was no ſooner known at Liſbon,

Liſbon, than multitudes of people came to ſee the Indians, and learn the particulars of this amazing diſcovery, inſomuch that the whole river was covered with boats crowded with people, ſome of whom praiſed God for the ſucceſs of Columbus, while others bitterly curſed the hard fate of their nation, which had loſt ſuch a prize through their king's avarice or incredulity.

This prince having received the admiral's letter, ordered his officers to preſent him with all ſorts of refreſhment and neceſſaries, gratis; at the ſame time, he wrote to Columbus, congratulating him upon his happy return, and deſiring to ſee him before he ſhould leave his dominions. Columbus at firſt ſcrupled to accept of this invitation; but, conſidering that the king of Portugal was at peace with his ſovereigns, and had treated him with uncommon hoſpitality and regard, he reſolved to wait upon his Portugueſe majeſty, who then reſided about nine leagues from Liſbon, at a place called Valparaiſo, where the admiral arrived on Saturday night, being the 9th day of March. The king ordered all the nobility of the court to go out and meet him: when he was conducted to the preſence, he inſiſted upon his putting on his cap and ſitting down; and having with ſeeming pleaſure heard the particulars of the voyage, offered to ſupply him with every thing he wanted, tho' he could not help obſerving, that the conqueſt of right belonged to him, in as much as Columbus had been once in the ſervice of Portugal. The admiral modeſtly gave his reaſons for being of a contrary opinion; to which the king replied, "it was very well; he did not doubt but "juſtice would be done." This converſation being ended, he ordered the prior of Crato to entertain Columbus, who having ſtaid all Sunday and part of Monday, took his leave, after having been treated by his majeſty with great honour, and tempted,

ed, by very conſiderable offers, to reingage in his ſervice. He was attended in his return by Don Martin de Noronha, and many other perſons of rank; and as he paſſed by a monaſtery where the queen was, ſhe deſired to ſee him, and received his viſit with great reſpect. That ſame night, a gentleman came from the king, to tell him, that if he was inclined to go to Caſtile by land, he would accompany and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. He declined this offer with ſuitable acknowledgements, and ſetting ſail from the river of Liſbon on Wedneſday March 13th, arrived on the Friday following at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, from whence he had departed on the 3d day of Auguſt in the preceding year.

On his landing, he was received by all the people in proceſſion, giving thanks to God for his proſperous ſucceſs, which, it was hoped, would redound ſo much to the advantage of Chriſtianity, and the grandeur of their catholick majeſties. By this time Pinzon had arrived in Galicia, and deſigned to carry in perſon the news of the diſcovery to court, when he received orders forbidding him to come without the admiral, under whoſe command he had been ſent on the expedition. This mortifying repulſe made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he fell ſick; and returning to his native place, in a few days died of grief and vexation.

Mean while Columbus ſet out for Sevil, in his way to Barcelona, where their majeſties at that time reſided; and the roads were crowded by all ſorts of people, who flocked together to ſee him and the Indians in his train. About the middle of April he arrived at Barcelona, where he was received in the moſt ſolemn manner by the whole court and city: their catholick majeſties, who ſat in publick upon rich chairs, under a canopy of cloth of gold, ſtood

up

up when he approached to kiſs their hands, cauſed him to be ſeated in their preſence, and treated him as a grandee of the firſt order, who had done the moſt important ſervice to his country: nay, ſo highly favoured was he for his merit and ſucceſs, that when the king rode about Barcelona, Columbus was always at his ſide, an honour which had never been conferred before upon any but the princes of the blood.

Nor was their regard confined to unſubſtantial forms; he was gratified with new patents, enlarging, explaining, and confirming the privileges which he had before obtained; and extending his viceroyalty and admiralſhip over all the countries he had diſcovered, as well as thoſe he ſhould diſcover: for it was reſolved that he ſhould return to the Weſt Indies with a powerful armament to ſupport the colony he had ſettled, and proceed with oth r diſcoveries: and in the mean time they ſolicited and procured from pope Alexander VI. an excluſive title to all the lands they ſhould find and ſubdue in that direction, as far as the Eaſt Indies.

The

The Second Voyage of COLUMBUS.

ALL the neceſſary meaſures being taken at court, for the ſucceſs of his ſecond expedition, admiral Columbus departed for Sevil, where he exerted himſelf with ſuch diligence, that in a little time ſeventeen veſſels of different ſizes were ready to ſail, well ſtored with proviſions and other neceſſaries, for the improvement of the Indian colonies. Many handicraftſmen and labourers were engaged for this ſervice, while the thirſt of gold, and the ſucceſs of the firſt adventurers, drew together ſuch a ſwarm of volunteers, that he found it abſolutely neceſſary to reject a great number, until another opportunity ſhould offer, and for the preſent reſtrict himſelf to fifteen hundred perſons of all ſorts, who actually embarked on this undertaking.

Having taken on board ſome horſes, aſſes, and other animals, which multiplied, and were afterwards of great uſe in the plantations, and being well furniſhed with all ſorts of utenſils and commodities for trade, the admiral ſailed from the road of Cadiz, where the fleet was equipped, on the 25th of September 1493, an hour before ſun-riſing, and ſtood ſouth-weſt for the Canary iſlands, where he intended to take in ſome refreſhment. On the 28th, being 100 leagues from Spain, they ſaw abundance of land-fowl, ſuch as turtle-doves and other ſmall birds, paſſing from the Azores to winter in Africa. On Wedneſday October 2d, he anchored at Gran Canaria, and at midnight ſailed again for Gomara, where he arrived on the 5th day of October, and gave orders for ſupplying the ſhips with all poſſible diſpatch.

His directions being followed, he, on the 7th of October, took his departure for the Indies, after having delivered ſealed orders to every ſhip, not to be opened unleſs they ſhould be ſeparated from him by ſtreſs of weather. They ran 400 leagues weſt of Gomara with a proſperous gale, and were ſurpriſed that they did not meet with any of thoſe weeds which they had in their firſt voyage ſeen before they had made much more than half that way. On Saturday the 26th, at night, the ſeamen perceived upon the round top, thoſe lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to whom they ſing litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger will enſue, let the ſtorm be never ſo violent.

On Saturday the 2d of November, in the evening, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the winds and ſky, that poured down a deluge of rain, concluded he was near ſome land; and almoſt all the ſails being taken in, ordered the crew to keep a ſharp look-out. This was far from being a groundleſs precaution; for, as ſoon as day began to break, they deſcried, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward, a high mountainous iſland, which the admiral named Dominica, becauſe it was diſcovered on Sunday morning. Much about the ſame time, they ſpied three other iſlands; and the people aſſembling on the poop, ſung the *ſalve regina*, and returned thanks to God for their wonderful ſucceſs, in having ſailed near 800 leagues in the ſpace of twenty days. There being no convenient place for anchoring on the eaſt ſide of Dominica, they ſtood over to another, which the admiral called Marigalante, after his own ſhip; and there landing, he, with the uſual ſolemnity, confirmed the poſſeſſion he had formerly taken of all the iſlands and continent of the Weſt-Indies for the king and queen of Spain.

On

On Monday November 4th, he ſailed from hence northward by another great iſland, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in conſequence of a promiſe he had made to the friars belonging to the convent of that name: at the diſtance of two leagues from this ſhore, they perceived a very high rock, ending in a point, from whence guſhed a large ſtream of water, which fell with a prodigious noiſe. Some men being ſent a-ſhore in the boat, went up to a ſort of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except ſome children, to whoſe arms the Spaniards tied a few bawbles, in token of friendſhip. They ſaw geeſe like thoſe of Europe, abundance of very large parrots, pompions, and pine apples growing wild, of exquiſite taſte and flavour. They likewiſe ſaw different kinds of ſtrange fruits, cotton, hammocks, bows and arrows, and other things, which they left untouched, that the owners might have the better opinion of their morals. Next day the admiral ſent two boats a-ſhore, with orders to take, if poſſible, ſome of the natives, from whom they might obtain ſome important information; and they returned with two young men, who ſaid they were of another iſland, and taken priſoners by the inhabitants of Guadaloupe. The boats going aſhore again for ſome of the people whom they had left, found ſix women who had fled to them, and deſired to be carried on board; theſe the admiral preſented with beads and bells, and diſmiſſed, much againſt their inclinations; and they were no ſooner landed, than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments, in ſight of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, theſe poor creatures leaped into the boat, imploring protection from the cruelty of the iſlanders, who, they ſignified, had eaten their huſbands, and kept themſelves in ſlavery. They were therefore brought aboard the admiral, whom they gave to underſtand, that there were towards the

ſouth

ſouth many iſlands, and a large continent, from which, in former times, canoes had come to barter; and they pointed out the ſituation of Hiſpaniola; whither he would have ſteered without delay, had he not been informed, that one Mark a captain had, without his leave, gone a-ſhore before day, with eight men, and was not yet returned; ſo that he was obliged to ſtay and ſend people in queſt of him, with trumpets and muſkets, the noiſe of which might be heard through the woods, that were almoſt impaſſible. However, this ſearch proving fruitleſs, he ſent another detachmeut of forty men, under captain Hoieda, with orders to range through the country, and make obſervations on its productions. They found maſtick, aloes, ſanders, ginger, frankincenſe, ſome trees that reſembled cinnamon in taſte and ſmell, and abundance of cotton: they ſaw faulcons, kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geeſe and nightingales; and affirmed, that in travelling ſix leagues they croſſed ſix and twenty rivers, ſeveral of which were very deep: this however, muſt have been a miſtake, into which, in all probability, they were led by the ruggedneſs of the country, that compelled them to croſs the ſame river a great many different times.

While they were employed in this excurſion, the ſtragglers returned to their ſhip of their own accord, and ſaid, they had been bewildered in the woods; but the admiral puniſhed their preſumption, by ordering the captain to be put in irons, and the reſt to be curtailed in their allowance of proviſion. This example being made, he himſelf landed, and entered ſome of the Indian houſes, where he found a great deal of cotton, ſpun and unſpun, together with abundance of human ſkulls and bones hung up in baſkets: and he obſerved that the natives here were better accommodated with lodging, neceſſaries, and proviſion,

proviſion, than thoſe of the iſlands which he had viſited in his firſt voyage.

On Sunday, November 10th, he weighed anchor, and ſailed with the whole fleet towards the north-weſt in queſt of Hiſpaniola, paſſed an iſland he called Monſeratte, on account of its height, the inhabitants of which, as he learned from his Indians, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees; coaſted along St. Mary Redonda, ſo named from its round figure; ſailed by Sta. Maria la Antigua, extending to above twenty eight leagues; and holding on his courſe ſaw, to the north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, ſeveral other high and woody iſlands, in one of which, intituled St. Martin, he came to an anchor, and when they weighed, pieces of coral were found ſticking on the flukes. On Thurſday, November 13th, he anchored again on account of bad weather, at another iſland, where he ordered ſome Indians to be taken, that they might inform him of his true ſituation. Accordingly four women and three children being kidnapped by the boat's crew, they put off from ſhore, and in their way to the ſhip met with a canoe, in which were four men and one woman, who perceiving they could not make their eſcape, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and the female ſhot an arrow with ſuch force and dexterity, that it actually went through a ſtrong target. But the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, overſet the canoe, ſo that they betook themſelves to ſwimming, and one of them uſed his bow in the water as dextrouſly as if he had been on dry land: all the males were eunuchs, who had been gelt by the Caribbees, as the capons are made in Europe, with a view to their improvement in fatneſs.

The admiral departing hence, continued his courſe weſt north-weſt, leaving to the northward fifty iſlands, the largeſt of which he called St. Urſula, and on the reſt he beſtowed the appellation of the Eleven thouſand

thouſand Virgins; then he anchored in a bay, on the weſt ſide of what he termed St. John Baptiſt, where the men caught ſkate, olaves, pilchards, and ſhad, and ſaw faulcons, and ſhrubs like wild vines: to the eaſtward of the bay they viſited ſome well built houſes, with a ſquare in their front, from which was a ſpacious road down to the ſea, flanked on both ſides with cane towers, the tops of which were curiouſly interwoven with greens; and at the end of it, next the ſea, ſtood a lofty gallery or balcony, large enough to hold ten or twelve perſons.

On Friday 14th, he arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, where he ſent on ſhore one of his Indians, who was a native of that part, and now being converted to the Chriſtian faith, undertook for the ſubmiſſion of all his countrymen: from thence continuing his courſe for the town of the Nativity, he was at cape Angel viſited by ſome Indians, who came aboard to barter; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Chriſto, ſome of his men diſcovered, near a river, two bodies of men with a rope made of a kind of broom about their necks, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in form of a croſs; and this circumſtance was looked upon as a bad omen, though it was impoſſible to diſcover whether they were Chriſtians or natives of the country.

Next day, being the 26th, a number of Indians came aboard, with great confidence and appearance of friendſhip, and pronounced ſeveral Spaniſh words they had learned from the ſettlers, ſo that the admiral was eaſed of the apprehenſions he had begun to conceive; as he could not imagine they would have behaved with ſuch freedom and unconcern, had they been conſcious to themſelves of having injured the Chriſtians Next day, however, put an end to his doubts; for, when he anchored near the town of the Nativity, ſome Indians came along ſide in a canoe,

canoe, and enquired for him by name, and being ſatisfied that he was there, went on board with two maſks, and a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From theſe people he had the mortification to learn, that the greateſt part of his ſettlers were dead, and the reſt gone to other countries: and tho' he ſuſpected foul play, he concealed his ſuſpicions for the preſent, and that ſame night diſmiſſed the meſſengers with ſome utenſils of ſattin and other bawbles for their prince.

When he entered the port of the Nativity, he ſaw nothing but ruin and deſolation; the town was burnt to the ground, and not a ſoul appeared upon the beach; and when he ſent ſome of his people on ſhore to gather tidings, they found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who ſeemed to have been a month dead. While he ruminated with ſorrow and reſentment on this unfortunate event, he was viſited by Guacanagari's brother, who came down, attended by ſome Indians, and told him, that he had ſcarce ſet ſail on his return to Spain, when thoſe he had left behind began to quarrel among themſelves, every man endeavouring to amaſs as much gold as he could find, and taking as many wives from among the natives as his appetite or rather his extravagance, ſeemed to require; that Peter Gutierres and Eſcovedo having killed one Iago, had with nine others retired into the dominions of a cacique called Caunabo, lord of the mines, who put them all to death, and afterwards came down with a great number of men to deſtroy the town. At that time, James de Arana with ten men were left to guard the fort, the reſt having diſperſed themſelves about the iſland; and Caunaba, who ſtole upon them by night, ſetting fire to their houſes, they fled into the ſea, where eight of them periſhed, and the other three were ſlain on ſhore, while Guacanagari himſelf, who had joined the Spaniards, was obliged to fly, after having

ing received a dangerous wound, by which he was then confined to his houſe, ſo that he could not wait upon the admiral according to his inclination. This ſtory exactly agreeing with the intelligence he received from ſome Spaniards, who had been ſent up the country to reconnoitre, and had actually ſeen Guacanagari at his own houſe, the admiral paid him a viſit next day, and was received with all the appearance of cordiality and concern: the cacique repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned ſorrow, ſhewed his own wound and thoſe of his men, which had been received in defence of the Chriſtians, and appeared to have been made with Indian weapons; and the compliments of condolance being paſt, he preſented him with eight ſtrings of ſmall beads, compoſed of white, green, and red ſtones, a ſtring of gold beads, a regal crown of the ſame metal, and three ſmall calabaſhes, full of gold duſt, weighing about two pounds. In return for theſe valuable preſents, the admiral gave him toys to the amount of three reals, or eighteen pence, which he prized at a very high rate. Though he was extremely ill, he inſiſted on accompanying his gueſt to the fleet, where he was courteouſly entertained, and very much ſurprized at ſight of ſome horſes; and he was afterwards inſtructed in the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, which he at firſt had made ſome ſcruple to embrace.

The admiral being diſguſted at this place, which had been the ſcene of ſo many diſaſters to him and his people, and knowing that in the neighbourhood there were more commodious places for a ſettlement, ſailed to the eaſtward with the whole fleet, on Saturday December 7th, and next day came to an anchor among the ſmall iſlands of Monte Chriſto, which, tho' deſtitute of trees, are nevertheleſs pleaſant; for in that winter ſeaſon they abounded with flowers, neſts full of young birds, and every other production

of

of ſummer. Weighing, however, he ſailed from hence, and anchored before an Indian town, where he reſolved to plant a colony.

With this view, all the men deſigned for ſettlers, together with proviſion and proper utenſils, were landed in a plain, where he built a tower called Iſabella, in honour of the queen. This was judged a very convenient ſpot, becauſe it was under a rock on which a fort might be erected: the harbour was very large, and at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot ran a river of delicate water, from which canals might be drawn through the middle of the town: and beyond it lay an extenſive open plain, from which, the Indians ſaid, the mines of Ceboa were not very diſtant. From the 11th day of December the admiral was eagerly employed in regulating this ſettlement, which being tolerably well adjuſted, he ſent Alonzo de Hoieda, with fifteen men, in queſt of the gold mines; and on the 2d day of February he diſmiſſed twelve ſhips of his fleet to Caſtile, under the command of Capt. Antonio de Torres. Hoieda ſoon returned, and gave the following account of his expedition. On the ſecond day he layat the paſs of an almoſt inacceſſible mountain; at the diſtance of every league he found a cacique, by whom he was hoſpitably received; and continuing his journey, arrived on the ſixth day at the mines of Cebao, where he actually ſaw the Indians take up gold from a ſmall river, as they afterwards did from many others of the ſame province. This information was extremely agreeable to the admiral, who was juſt recovered from a fit of illneſs, occaſioned by fatigue; and on Wedneſday March 12th he ſet out from Iſabella for Cebao, attended by all the people who were in health, on foot and a horſeback, except a ſtrong guard which he left in the two ſhips, and three caravals, that remained under the command of his brother James Columbus. This precaution he took in

conſequence

conſequence of a conſpiracy which he had detected on board, headed by one Bernarde de Piſa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their catholick majeſties. He took the opportunity of the admiral's diſorder, to tamper with ſome of the men who were diſappointed of the gold which they expected to find without the leaſt trouble, and diſſatisfied with the regulations of the new ſettlement; and formed the deſign of revolting from the admiral, and ſeizing the ſhips, in which he purpoſed to return to Spain: but the combination being diſcovered, Columbus ſecured the ringleader, until he ſhould have an opportunity of ſending him home to undergo his trial; and having taken proper meaſures for preventing ſuch a mutiny for the future, departed for Ciboa, with neceſſaries to build a fort in that province, for the ſecurity of thoſe who ſhould be left to gather gold among the Indians. That he might the more intimidate and awe theſe ſavages, he made a parade of all his people, whom he ordered to march through their villages in rank and file, with their arms and accoutrements, trumpets ſounding, and colours flying. He took his route along the river that runs by Iſabella, croſſed another not ſo large, and lay in a pleaſant plain, extending to the foot of a craggy hill; and forming a paſs, which he called Puerto de los Hidalgos, or of the Gentlemen, becauſe ſome gentlemen had gone before to widen the road; for the Indians never make a path that will allow above one man to paſs at a time. Next day he entered a large plain, in which he travelled five leagues, and ſpent the night near a great river, which the men croſſed on floats and in canoes: this, which he named the river of Canes, falls into the ſea at Monte Chriſto. In his march he paſſed by many Indian towns, compoſed of round thatched houſes, the doors of which were ſo ſmall, that no perſon could enter without ſtooping very low.

The inhabitants ſeemed to have every thing in common, and had no notion of private property among the Chriſtians; for they attempted to take from the Spaniards any thing which they chanced to like, and were ſurpriſed at meeting with a repulſe. The whole way was diverſified with pleaſant mountains covered with wild vines, aloes, caſſia, and that tree which is ſaid to produce the ſcammony.

On Friday, March 14th, the admiral ſet forwards from the River of Canes; and having proceeded a league and an half, arrived at the banks of another, which he named the river of Gold, becauſe here they gathered ſome duſt and grains of that metal. He paſſed this large body of water with ſome difficulty, on the other ſide of which he found a large town, and all the houſes ſhut againſt him by the inhabitants, who had barred their doors with canes, which they look upon as an impregnable defence. This night he lay on the bank of another fine river, which he chriſtened the Green River; and continuing his journey next day, paſſed by ſome great towns, fortified like that which we have already mentioned: by this time the men began to be tired with the fatigue of travelling, and he choſe his night's lodging at the foot of a rugged mountain, which he denominated port Cibao, becauſe here the province of that name begins. From hence he ſent back ſome mules to Iſabella for a freſh ſupply of proviſion; and theſe being returned, he on the 16th day of March entered the province of Cibao, which, though rough and ſtony, yields plenty of graſs, and is watered by ſeveral rivers abounding with gold, which is waſhed down from the mountains: but in this whole province, which is as large as Portugal, there are few or no trees, except on the banks of the rivers, where ſome pines and palms are found.

This country being very craggy, and at a good diſtance from Iſabella, which lay eighteen leagues

to

to the northward, he ordered a fort to be built in a very ſtrong, tho' pleaſant ſituation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Chriſtian adventurers. This, which he called the caſtle of St. Thomas, was garriſoned by fifty ſix men, under the command of Peter Margarite, and among theſe were workmen of all ſorts, to finiſh and repair the fort, which was built with clay and timber, of force ſufficient to withſtand the attempts of any number of Indians who might come againſt it.

The admiral having given proper directions touching the ſupport of this work, ſet out on his return for Iſabella, and was met by numbers of the natives who came to ſell their proviſions, which chiefly conſiſted of garlick, and a ſort of bread: and on Sunday, March 29th, he arrived at his new colony, where he found melons already fit to eat, tho' the ſeed had not been above two months in the ground. Cucumbers came to perfection in twenty days; and a wild vine of the country, being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes. Next day, being the 30th, a peaſant gathered ears of wheat, which he had ſown in the latter end of January: vetches, improved in the ſoil, produced a ripe crop in twenty five days after they were ſown. The ſtones of fruit ſprouted out in ſeven days; the vine branches put forth in the ſame time, yielding green grapes in five and twenty days, and ſugar canes budded in the like ſpace. So that the admiral was perfectly well pleaſed with the climate, the ſoil, and the water, which was extremely pure, cool, wholeſome and palatable.

On Tueſday, April 1ſt, a meſſenger arrived from St. Thomas, with intelligence, that the cacique Caunabo was employed in making preparations for attacking the fort: and tho' Columbus paid but little regard to this report, becauſe he knew how little the natives were to be feared, eſpecially as they

were so much terrified by the horses, that they durst not venture to approach those animals; nevertheless, as he intended to go to sea with his three caravals, in order to discover the continent, he resolved to leave every thing quiet behind; and for that purpose sent a reinforcement of seventy men to the fort, the greatest part of whom had orders to make the road more passable, and find out the fords of the rivers. Mean while he completed his town, which was laid out in regular streets, with a convenient market-place, and supplied it with the river water, conveyed through an artificial canal. He likewise erected a water-mill to grind wheat, as his people were not yet accustomed to the food of the natives; and provisions beginning to fail, he determined to send all the superfluous mouths to Spain, and leave upon the island no more than three hundred men, which he deemed a number sufficient to keep that country in subjection to their catholick majesties. This step he was the rather induced to take, because the climate disagreed with many, who were in a sick and languishing condition: as for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, he sent them out to traverse the island, that they might reconnoitre the ground, accustom themselves to the Indian diet, and strike a terror into the inhabitants: they were commanded by Hojeda, who had orders to march into Cibao, and deliver them to Peter Margarite, who should lead them round the island, while he (Hojeda) should command the fort of St. Thomas.

On Wednesday, April 29th, they departed from Isabella, to the number of four hundred; and, having crossed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, together with his brother, Hojeda sent in irons to the admiral, after he had ordered the ears of one of his subjects to be cut off in the market-place of his town. This punishment they

incurred for an outrage they had committed againſt the Chriſtians, three of whom, in their way from St. Thomas to Iſabella, having been by this cacique accommodated with five Indians as porters to carry their cloaths, were no ſooner come to the middle of the river, than thoſe honeſt carriers ran away with the baggage, and the cacique, inſtead of puniſhing them for the theft, refuſed to reſtore the booty, which he converted to his own uſe.

Another cacique, who dwelt beyond the river, relying upon the ſervice he had done to the Spaniards, accompanied the priſoners to Iſabella, in order to intercede in their behalf with the admiral, who entertained him courteouſly; and in order to inhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out to execution. The mediator ſeeing them in this perilous ſituation, ſhed a flood of tears, and begged their lives might be ſpared, with the moſt earneſt entreaties; in conſequence of which they were pardoned and diſmiſſed. Immediately after their releaſe, a man on horſeback, juſt arrived from St. Thomas's, told the admiral, that in his way through the town belonging to the cacique who had been priſoner, he had ſingly reſcued four Spaniards, whom the Indians had taken by way of repriſals, and chaſed above four hundred people, who fled at the very ſight of his horſe.

The ſhips being fitted out for a new expedition, Columbus appointed a council to govern the iſland in his abſence, conſiſting of his brother James as preſident, F. Boyle, and Peter Fernandez Coronell as regents, with Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal rector of Baſca, and John de Luxan of Madrid, gentlemen to their catholick majeſties. Then he ſailed to the port of Guacanagari, who fled at his approach. On Saturday, April 26th, he touched at the iſland of Tortuga, where, on account of the

currents, he was obliged to come to an anchor, and ſtay till Tueſday 29th, when favoured by a fair wind, he reached Cape St. Nicholas, from whence ſtanding over to Cuba, he ran along the ſouth ſide of that iſland, and put into a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water. Here, while he lay at anchor, his men caught abundance of oyſters and other fiſh; and afterwards, while he continued his courſe along the coaſt, a great number of the Indians came aboard in their canoes, with preſents of bread, water, and fiſh, for which they thought themſelves greatly overpaid with a few bells, beads, and other ſuch trifles.

On Saturday, May 3d, the admiral ſailed for Jamaica, where he was told there was great plenty of gold, and upon Monday anchored in that iſland, which he thought the moſt beautiful of any he had yet ſeen, as well as the moſt populous: for, an aſtoniſhing multitude of natives came on board in canoes of different ſizes, to barter proviſions, which they exchanged for the moſt inconſiderable toys. Next day, as he coaſted along, the boats being ſent to ſound the mouths of ſome harbours, were ſurrounded by canoes full of armed men, who ſeemed bent upon committing acts of hoſtility; ſo that the Spaniards, who reſolved to enter Puerto Bueno, ſaluted them with a flight of arrows, by which ſix or ſeven were wounded, and the reſt ſo intimidated that they fled with precipitation. In this harbour, the figure of which reſembles a horſeſhoe, the admiral's ſhip was repaired, and the leak being ſtopped, he on Tueſday 14th ſtood over again to Cuba, with full reſolution to know whether it was really an iſland or a continent. That ſame day a very young Indian of Jamaica coming on board, deſired to accompany the admiral to Spain; and tho' many of his kindred and countrymen came, with tears in their eyes, earneſtly entreating him to return,

turn, he perſiſted in his reſolution, and the admiral gave orders he ſhould be treated with civility.

On Wedneſday he reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz; and as he coaſted along, he was overtaken by a terrible ſtorm, attended with thunder and lightning, which was the more dangerous as he was entangled among flats and currents, which hindred him from taking in his ſails. That whole ſea, to the north and north-eaſt, is interſperſed with a vaſt number of little, low, ſandy iſlands, ſome of which ſcarce appear above the ſurface of the water, and render the navigation very difficult. True it is the nearer they ſailed to Cuba, the higher and pleaſanter theſe iſlands appeared; and as it would have been a tedious taſk to beſtow a name upon every particular, he ſtiled them by the lump, the Queen's Garden. The next day they ſeemed to multiply on all hands, inſomuch that the men reckoned one hundred and ſixty, parted from each other by navigable channels, through ſome of which the ſhips ſailed. On theſe they ſaw a great number of cranes red as ſcarlet; abundance of tortoiſes or turtle, and their eggs, which they leave in the ſand to be hatched by the ſun: they likewiſe perceived crows, like thoſe in Spain, and an infinite number of little birds that ſung harmoniouſly. The very air was as ſweet as if it had been impregnated with the ſcent of roſes, and all other vegetable perfumes.

In one of thoſe channels, they found a canoe with fiſhermen, who ſeeing the boat approach, made ſigns to the Spaniards to be upon their oars, until they had performed their operation, which was very ſingular and curious. They had tied a ſtring round the tail of ſome ſmall fiſhes called reves, that are taught to encounter other fiſh, to which they cling ſo faſt, by means of a certain roughneſs and viſcoſity in their ſkin, that the fiſhermen draw them up together: upon this occaſion they caught a tortoiſe;

and the reve was wound about its neck, where they generally faſten to ſecure themſelves from the teeth of their game; and in this manner they will ſometimes attack ſharks of the largeſt ſize. The Indians having drawn their line very quietly, went on board of the admiral, and preſented the fiſh which they had caught; for which he gratified them with a few baubles, and held on his courſe: tho' he now began to be in want of proviſions, and his health was very much impaired by fatigue and want of reſt, which he would not venture to enjoy amidſt ſuch a number of unknown iſlands, which every night produce a great fog to the eaſtward, accompanied with thunder and lightning, tho' it vaniſhes as ſoon as the moon is riſen. During the night, the wind generally blows off ſhore, but in the day it is almoſt always eaſterly, and ſeems to follow the ſun in its diurnal courſe.

On Thurſday, May 22d, the admiral landed on an iſland ſomewhat larger than the reſt, which he called St Mary, and entered a town abandoned by the inhabitants, where he found nothing but fiſh, and ſome dogs that reſembled maſtiffs. Then he directed his courſe north-eaſt, where he was ſtill perplexed and fatigued, by ſailing and ſounding among an aſtoniſhing number of flats and iſlands; becauſe, in ſpite of all his precautions in ſounding and keeping a good look out, the ſhip was often a-ground, and there was no poſſibility of avoiding this inconvenience: this conſideration, joined to thoſe we have already mentioned, obliged him to relinquiſh his deſign of ſailing eaſt about until he ſhould return to Spain.

Being now in want of water, he touched again at Cuba, and one of his ſailors going up among the trees with a croſs-bow in ſearch of game, ſaw about thirty people armed with ſpears and ſtaves, called Macanas, and among them a perſon clad in a white coat

coat or veſt that reached down to his knees, and carried by two men in long garments of the ſame ſtuff, all three being as white as Spaniards: but he had no converſation with them; becauſe, ſeeing ſuch a number, he called to his companions, and the Indians ran away without looking back. Next day the admiral ſent people on ſhore to know the truth of this report, but the woods and bogs were ſo impaſſable that they could not proceed in their inquiry.

About ten leagues to the weſtward of this place, they ſaw houſes, from which the natives came in canoes, with water, and ſuch food as they eat; and one of them was detained as an interpreter by the admiral, who promiſed to diſmiſs him in ſafety as ſoon as he ſhould have given him proper directions for his voyage, and a diſtinct account of the country. The Indian was ſatisfied with his promiſe, and gave him to underſtand that Cuba was an iſland; that the king or cacique of the weſtern part never ſpoke to his ſubjects, but made certain ſigns, in conſequence of which all his orders were performed; and that all the coaſt was very low, and ſurrounded by ſmall iſlands. Next day, June 11th, the admiral being incloſed between two of theſe, was obliged to tow the ſhips over a flat, where there was not above one foot of water: and bearing up cloſer to Cuba, they ſaw very large tortoiſes, in ſuch numbers, that they actually covered the ſea. Next day the ſun was darkened by a cloud of ſea-crows that came from ſeaward, and lighted upon the iſland, where they likewiſe ſaw abundance of pigeons and other birds; and afterwards, ſuch ſwarms of butterflies, that the day was obſcured from morning till night, when they were carried away by a deluge of rain.

On Friday, June 13th, the admiral being in want of wood and water, anchored in the iſland Evan-

geliſta, about thirty leagues in compaſs; and having provided the ſhips with what they wanted, directed his courſe ſouthward, in hopes of finding another paſſage: but, after having ſailed a few leagues through what ſeemed to be a channel, he ſaw himſelf embayed, and was obliged to return as he entered. Hence he ſailed on the 25th, towards ſome ſmall iſlands that appeared to the north-weſt; not far from which the ſea ſeemed in different places to be of various colours, owing, in all probability, to the ſhallow water, and nature of the bottom ſeen through it. Thence returning to the coaſt of Cuba, he ſtood to the eaſtward with ſcant winds, and on the 30th day of June, while he was writing his journal, the ſhip ran a-ground ſo faſt, that ſhe could not be got off without great difficulty and ſome damage; and, beſides the trouble of navigating through ſhoal water and narrow channels, he was expoſed to great inconvenience from vaſt quantities of rain that fell every evening.

On July 7th he landed to hear maſs, and was viſited by an old cacique of that province, who liſtened very attentively to the ſervice, and afterwards ſignified his belief of the exiſtence of a ſupreme Being, who rewards virtue and puniſhes vice in a future ſtate: he was acquainted with ſome of the chiefs in Hiſpaniola, had been in Jamaica, and at the weſt end of Cuba, where the cacique was clad like a prieſt.

On Wedneſday, July 16th, the admiral put to ſea, tho' very much incommoded by the rains and winds, which, as he approached Cape Cruz, ſuddenly increaſed to ſuch a ſtorm, that the ſhips were almoſt overſet before the ſails could be furled, and they ſhipped ſo much water, that the men were ſcarce able to keep them clear by pumping, ſo much were they reduced by fatigue and want of proviſions: a man's allowance being ſtinted to a pound

of

of rotten biſket, and half a pint of wine per day, which the admiral himſelf did not exceed. In this diſtreſs, he, on the 18th of July, reached Cape Cruz, where he was very civilly entertained by the Indians, who ſupplied him with bread called cazabi, made of roots grated, abundance of fiſh, and ſtore of pleaſant fruit. Thus refreſhed, he ſtood over to Jamaica on the 22d day of July, and coaſting along to the weſtward, found it full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants, and judged it to be about 80 miles in compaſs.

The weather clearing up, he ſailed to the eaſtward, and on Wedneſday Auguſt 20th, making the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, called the firſt point Cape St. Michael, which is about thirty leagues diſtant from the moſt eaſterly part of Jamaica, and at preſent known by the name of Cape Tiburon. On Saturday 23d he was viſited aboard by a cacique, who called him by his name, and pronounced ſome Spaniſh words; and about the latter end of the month he anchored in an iſland known by the name of Alto Velo, after having loſt ſight of the other two ſhips that were under his command. Here the men killed eight ſeals that lay aſleep on the ſhore, and took abundance of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccuſtomed to the cruelty of the human ſpecies, ſtood ſtill and allowed themſelves to be knocked on the head with ſtaves. At the end of ſix days, being joined by the miſſing ſhips, they ſtood for the iſland Beata, at the diſtance of twelve leagues from Alto Velo: thence coaſting along Hiſpaniola, which exhibited a delightful proſpect of a plain, running up a mile from the ſea, ſo populous, that for a whole league it ſeemed to be one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which appeared a lake, five leagues in length from eaſt to weſt. Here the natives came aboard in their canoes, and informed the admiral, that they had been viſit-

ed by ſome Spaniards from Iſabella, where all was well. He was very much pleaſed with this information, and immediately diſpatched nine men acroſs the iſland to his colony, with the news of his ſafe return, while he and his ſhips ſtill ſailed along the coaſt to the eaſtward. In this courſe he ſent the boats for water, near a great town, from which the Indians came to oppoſe their landing, with bows and poiſonous arrows, and produced ſome ropes, with which they threatened to bind the Chriſtians: but as ſoon as the boats reached the ſhore, they laid down their arms, and aſked for the admiral, to whom they made a tender of all they had.

Near this place, they ſaw in the ſea a fiſh as big as a whale, with a great ſhell, like that of a tortoiſe, upon its neck: it bore its head, which was as large as an hogſhead, above water, had a very long tail, reſembling that of a tunny fiſh, and two large fins on the ſides. From this, and other concurring ſigns, the admiral prognoſticated a change of weather, and ſeeking ſome place where he might ride ſecure, it was his good fortune to diſcover an iſland near the eaſt part of Hiſpaniola, called by the natives Adamanai: between this and Hiſpaniola he came to an anchor cloſe under another ſmall iſland, and obſerved an eclipſe of the moon, which was followed by a tempeſt that laſted ſeveral days; ſo that he was obliged to lie in this ſituation till the 20th, not without great apprehenſion on account of the other veſſels which could not get in: however, they weathered the ſtorm and joined the admiral, who ſailed on the 24th to the eaſtermoſt point of Hiſpaniola; from whence he paſſed over to a little iſland which the Indians call Mona, and in his paſſage from hence to St. John de Borriguen, he was, in conſequence of the fatigue he had undergone, ſeized with a peſtilential and lethargic fever, which deprived him of his ſenſes and memory. In this dilemma,

dilemma, it was reſolved by his people to deſiſt from the deſign he had formed, of diſcovering the Caribbees, and to return to Iſabella, where they arrived in five days; and on the 29th of September the admiral retrieved the uſe of his reaſon, and his fever vaniſhed, tho' his weakneſs laſted five months.

On his arrival at Iſabella, he found his brother Bartholomew, who, in returning to Spain from the court of England, where his demands were granted, had been informed of Chriſtopher's ſucceſs, by Charles King of France, who ſupplied him with 100 crowns for the expence of his journey. Having received this intelligence, he made all the haſte he could to overtake the admiral in Spain, but before he arrived in Sevil, his brother had ſailed on his ſecond voyage: however, he ſoon followed with three ſhips, the command of which was given to him by their catholic majeſties. And now the admiral made him governor of the Indies, tho' this title occaſioned ſome diſpute; becauſe the king and queen alledged, that Chriſtopher had no power to grant ſuch an office: nevertheleſs this difference was compromiſed, and his place confirmed under the title of adelantado, or lieutenant of the Indies.

Although the company and aſſiſtance of Bartholomew were of great comfort and ſervice to the admiral, he was involved in infinite trouble and vexation, by the miſconduct of Peter Margarite, which had produced a revolt among the Indians. This officer, inſtead of obeying the orders of Columbus, in traverſing and reducing the iſland, with 360 foot and 14 horſe, which were left under his command, he encamped in a great plain, called Vega Real, at the diſtance of ten leagues from Iſabella, from whence he ſent inſolent letters, and even orders to the council, over which he wanted to domineer: but finding it impracticable to ſucceed in his deſign of uſurping the ſupreme command, and dreading the

return

return of the admiral, who would call him to an account for his behaviour, he embarked in the firſt ſhip bound for Spain, without having aſſigned any reaſon for his departure, or in any ſhape diſpoſed of the men who were under his command; ſo that every perſon being at liberty to follow his own inclination, they diſperſed themſelves in the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed ſuch outrages, as entirely alienated the affections of the Indians, and even induced them to lay ſchemes of revenge.

The cacique of La Madelena, whoſe name was Gualiguana, attacked ſmall ſtraggling parties, killed ten Spaniards, and ſet fire to an houſe in which were eleven ſick people: the like cruelties were committed in other parts of the iſland, and a much greater number would have periſhed, had not the admiral returned in time to protect his colony; tho' he was very much chagrined to find that the Chriſtians were mortally hated by the Indians, on account of their inſolence and barbarity. Indeed they might have eaſily ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, had they united in their own defence: for, there were four principal kings or caciques, namely Caunabo, Guacanagari, Behechico, and Guarconex, and upon each of theſe 70 or 80 petty lords depended; not that theſe vaſſals payed tribute, but were obliged, when called, to aſſiſt them in their wars and agriculture. Guacanagari continued a firm friend to the Chriſtians; and, viſiting the admiral at his return, declared he had been in no ſhape aiding or aſſiſting to thoſe who had injured the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, had protected and maintained one hundred of his people, and for that reaſon incurred the diſpleaſure of the other kings. Behechico had killed one of his women, and another had been taken away by Caunabo; ſo that he implored the aſſiſtance of Columbus, to recover her who was alive,

alive, and revenge the other's death. The admiral had ſo often experienced the humanity and affection of this cacique, that he reſolved to redreſs his wrongs, eſpecially as it was his intereſt to foment and maintain diſſenſion among the Indian chiefs, who, in being divided, would be the more eaſily ſubdued. In the mean time, ſome of the natives who had murdered his men, being apprehended, were puniſhed with death, and others ſent to Spain in four ſhips, which had come out in February, under the command of Antonio de Torres.

On the 24th day of March 1495, Columbus, with Guacanagari, departed from Iſabella, to proſecute the war againſt his Indian enemies, who were aſſembled to the number of one hundred thouſand, while his forces did not exceed two hundred Chriſtians, with twenty horſes and as many dogs.

On the ſecond day of his march, being in ſight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one half to his brother the lieutenant, that by attacking in two places at once, they might increaſe the terror and confuſion of the Indians, who were ſcattered about the plains. Accordingly, the Spaniards having firſt thrown them into diſorder, by a diſcharge of their croſs-bows and muſkets, fell in among them with their horſes and dogs, charging with ſuch fury, that the faint-hearted multitude were routed and fled different ways, with great precipitation. Many were ſlain in the purſuit, and a great number made priſoners; among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cacique confeſſed that he had killed twenty of the Chriſtians, who had been left with Peter de Arana at the Nativity, and that his intention was to act in the ſame manner at the town of Iſabella, which he had reconnoitred under colour of friendſhip. Such a confeſſion, together with his being taken in actual rebellion, were matters of

ſuch

ſuch importance, that the admiral thought proper to ſend him and his whole family into Spain, where they might be uſed according to the pleaſure of their Catholic majeſties.

The Indians were ſo much intimidated by the victory which the Spaniards had obtained, and the captivity of Caunabo, that in the ſpace of a year, the admiral, without drawing a ſword, reduced the whole iſland to obedience, and impoſed a quarterly tribute to be payed to the king and quen of Spain. Every inhabitant of Cibao above the age of fourteen, was taxed at a large horſe-bell full of gold duſt; and the reſt at 25 pounds of cotton a head: and every one who had payed, was preſented with a braſs or tin ticket, that they might be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who had failed in the payment. Thus every thing was ſettled to the ſatisfaction of all parties, and the people became ſo quiet and pacifick, that a ſingle Spaniard could travel in ſafety over the whole iſland, and be received every where with hoſpitality and regard: tho' by this time, the colony was, by the diſeaſes of the climate, and change of diet, reduced to leſs than one third of the number which firſt landed at Iſabella.

During this interval of peace, the Spaniards by converſing with the natives, became better acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms, and among other things, learned that the iſland produced copper, azure, amber, ebony, cedar, frankincenſe, a kind of bitter cinnamon, ginger, long pepper, and a great number of mulberry trees, which bear leaves all the year for the ſupport of a ſilk manufacture---With regard to religion, the admiral himſelf writes, that every king or cacique, here as well as in the other iſlands and continent, has a detached houſe ſet apart for the lodging and ſervice of certain wooden images called Cemis, before which they perform ceremonies and pray with great

great devotion. In each of theſe temples is a round table made in form of a diſh, containing a certain kind of powder, which being laid on the head of the Cemi, the devotee ſnuffs it up through an hollow cane, conſiſting of two branches, repeating a ſort of jargon which ſeems altogether unintelligible; and by this powder he is immediately intoxicated. Thoſe images have different names, which, in all probability, belonged to the anceſtors of the cacique who owns them; and ſome of them are in much higher reputation than others; ſo that a Cemi of character is frequently ſtolen. In the celebration of theſe rules, they carefully avoid the Chriſtians, whom they will not ſuffer to enter the place of their devotion: tho' ſome Spaniards once ruſhed into the houſe, and immediately the Cemi began to cry aloud in the Indian language: for, the image being hollow, was ſupplied with a trunk, the farther end of which reached a dark corner of the apartment, where a man lay concealed among boughs and leaves, and ſpoke what was dictated by the cacique---The Chriſtians ſoon comprehended and diſcovered the trick by kicking down the Cemi; and the cacique finding himſelf detected, earneſtly begged they would not communicate the diſcovery to his ſubjects, otherwiſe he ſhould not be able to keep them in obedience---Almoſt all theſe chiefs have likewiſe three ſtones which they and their people devoutly worſhip: one, they ſay, preſides over the corn and grain, the other affects women in childbed, and the third influences the weather. When a ſick Indian ſeems paſt recovery, he is ſtrangled by order of the cacique, and either buried, burnt or embalmed, at the pleaſure of his relations. Some being embowelled and dried, are laid in hammocks with bread and water at their heads, and others are depoſited in a grot or den furniſhed with the ſame kind

kind of proviſion. Caunabo being queſtioned about a future ſtate, ſaid, that after death he ſhould go to a certain vale, where he ſhould find his parents and predeceſſors, and eat, drink, and enjoy all the ſenſual pleaſures in the higheſt perfection. The iſland of Hiſpaniola being now in a ſtate of quiet ſubmiſſion, the colony of Iſabella eſtabliſhed, and three forts erected in different parts, for the ſecurity of the Spaniards, the admiral reſolved to return to Caſtile to give an account of theſe tranſactions, and acquit himſelf of ſome ſlanderous accuſations, which certain envious and malicious perſons had laid againſt him and his brother. He therefore on Thurſday, 10th of March, 1496, went on board with two hundred and twenty five Spaniards and thirty Indians, embarked in two caravals called the Santa Cruz and Nina, and ſailing from Iſabella early in the morning, began to ply to the eaſtward.

On Tueſday 22d, he weathered the moſt eaſterly point of the iſland, ſtill continuing the ſame courſe, tho' the wind was in his teeth, till the 6th of April, when finding his proviſions falling ſhort, and his men weary and diſcouraged, he ſtood off more ſoutherly towards the Caribbee iſlands, and on Saturday the 9th anchored at Marigalante. Next day he ſailed to Guadalupe, and ſent aſhore his boats, which being oppoſed by a number of women, who ruſhed out of a wood with bows and arrows; the Spaniards lying on their oars, ordered two of their Indian women to ſwim aſhore, and tell the iſlanders that they wanted nothing but proviſions, for which they would give them a valuable conſideration.---When the female warriors underſtood the demand of the Chriſtians, they directed them to ſail to the north ſide, where they would be ſupplied by their huſbands: accordingly the ſhips coaſting round the iſland, a great number of people came down to the ſhore, and let fly ſeveral flights of arrows

rows at the boats: but perceiving the Spaniards rowed towards the ſhore, they formed an ambuſcade in the neareſt woods, from whence, however, they were driven by the cannon of the ſhips; ſo that their houſes and effects being abandoned, were pillaged and deſtroyed by the Chriſtians, who being acquainted with the method, went to work and made a ſufficient quantity of bread to ſupply their wants. In theſe Indian houſes, which, contrary to the practice of the other iſlands, were ſquare, they found large parrots, honey, wax, and iron, of which they had hatchets and looms for weaving their tents; and in one, they perceived a man's arm roaſting on a ſpit.

While ſome of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral detatched forty men to obtain ſome intelligence of the country, and next day they returned with ten women and three boys, among whom was the wife of a cacique, who had been taken by a Canary man, remarkably ſwift of foot. Notwithſtanding his nimbleneſs, he could not have overtaken her, had not ſhe, ſeeing him alone, turned back in full confidence of making him her prey. She accordingly ſeized and threw him upon the ground, and he certainly would have been ſtifled, had not ſome of his companions come to his aſſiſtance. Theſe women, who are exceſſively fat and thick, ſwathe their legs with a piece of cotton from the ancle to the knee, and wear their hair long and looſe flowing upon their ſhoulders, but no other part of their bodies is covered. The captive lady ſaid, the iſland was inhabited by women only, and that among thoſe who endeavoured to oppoſe the landing, there were but four men, who chanced to be there by accident; for, at certain times of the year, they come from other iſlands, to procreate the ſpecies. This is likewiſe the caſe in another iſland called Matrimonio, poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed by the ſame ſort of Amazons, who ſeemed to be endued with maſculine ſtrength and a clearneſs of underſtanding which is not found among the men of that country; inſomuch that, whereas other Indians reckon the day by the ſun, and the night by the moon only, theſe women are acquainted with aſtronomy, and meaſure their time by the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars.

The admiral having furniſhed his ſhips with a ſupply of bread, wood and water, ſet ſail from Guadalupe on Wedneſday the 20th of April, after having gratified and ſent on ſhore all the inhabitants, except the chief lady and her daughter, who choſe to go to Spain along with Caunabo, who, tho' a cacique of Hiſpaniola, was a native of the Caribbees.

By the 20th of May, the ſhips being about 100 leagues weſt of the Azores, proviſions began to fail, ſo that each man was reſtricted to an allowance of ſix ounces of bread, and ſomething leſs than a pint of water per day; and the admiral found the Dutch compaſſes varied a point, while thoſe of Genoa had very little variation.

On Wedneſday June 8th, ſeveral days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, exactly according to the admiral's account, they made the land of Odenicra, between Liſbon and Cape St. Vincent, which ſome miſtook for the coaſt of Galicia, while others affirmed they were in the Engliſh channel; and by this time the ſcarcity on board was ſo great, that many of the people propoſed to eat the Indians, and others were of opinion they ſhould be thrown overboard, in order to leſſen the conſumption of the proviſion that remained. But both theſe cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who exerted his whole authority and addreſs for the protection of thoſe poor creatures; and next morning he was rewarded for his humanity, with

with the ſight of land, which agreed ſo well with his prediction, that his men believed he was actually prophetical in ſea-affairs.

The admiral being landed, ſet out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic majeſties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their ſon prince John, with Margaret of Auſtria daughter of Maximilian the emperor. He preſented the king and queen with ſamples of every peculiar production of the Indies, ſuch as birds, beaſts, trees, plants, inſtruments and utenſils, together with ſeveral girdles and maſks adorned with golden plates, and a large quantity of gold duſt, with grains of that metal of various ſizes, from the bigneſs of a vetch to that of a pigeon's egg.

Having afterwards vindicated his own conduct to the ſatisfaction of their majeſties, he earneſtly begged to be ſent back with ſupplies to the colony which he had left in want of men and many neceſſaries; but notwithſtanding all his ſollicitations, the court was ſo dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapſed before he could obtain a ſupply, which was ſent in two ſhips commanded by Peter Fernandez Coronell. After his departure, Columbus continued at court, to negociate the equipment of ſuch a fleet as would be proper for him to conduct to the Weſt-Indies: but this was long retarded by the negligence and miſmanagement of the king's officers, and particularly of Don John de Fonſeca archdeacon of Sevil, who being afterwards created biſhop of Burgos, proved an inveterate enemy to the admiral, and was the chief of thoſe who in the ſequel brought him into diſgrace with their Catholic majeſties.

The

The Third Voyage of Columbus.

COLUMBUS having forwarded the expedition with the utmoſt care and induſtry, on the 30th of May 1498, ſet ſail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda, with ſix ſhips loaded with proviſions and neceſſaries for the relief of the planters in Hiſpaniola, and with full reſolution to diſcover the continent of Paria.

On the 7th of June he arrived at the iſland of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water: on the 9th he touched at Madeira, where he furniſhed himſelf with other refreſhments; and on the 19th reached Gomera, where a French ſhip having taken three Spaniſh veſſels, weighed and ſtood to ſea with them, at ſight of the ſquadron. The admiral was no ſooner informed of this capture, than he ordered three of his ſhips to give chace; but they had made too much way to be overtaken: one of the prizes however, was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards whom the French had left on board, and who clapping their captors under the hatches, brought the veſſel ſafely into port again.

From hence the admiral ſailed for the iſland of Ferro, where he reſolved to ſend three of his ſhips to Hiſpaniola, while he with the reſt ſhould ſail towards the Cape de Verd iſlands, and from thence directly over to diſcover the continent. In conſequence of this determination, he appointed Peter de Arana, Alonzo Sancher de Carvagal, and John Antonio Columbus his own kinſman, captains of

the three ſhips bound for Hiſpaniola, with orders that each ſhould command a week in his turn; and this diſpoſition being made, the ſhips parted, each ſquadron upon its reſpective voyage.

On Wedneſday June 25th, the admiral deſcried the iſland de Sal, and paſſing it, came to an anchor in another called Bona Viſta, on which are ſix or ſeven houſes for the accommodation of lepers who go thither to be cured. The Portugueſe who had charge of the iſland, immediately went aboard the admiral to offer his ſervice, and was gratified with a preſent of ſome proviſion, which was extremely acceptable, as they live very miſerably on that barren ſoil. Columbus being deſirous to know by what means the leproſy was cured in this place, he told him that the recovery of the diſeaſed was effected by the temperature of the air, and feeding upon tortoiſes, with the blood of which they likewiſe anointed themſelves externally. Hither theſe animals repair in vaſt numbers from the African ſhore, to lay their eggs in the ſand, during the months of June, July and Auguſt, and are eaſily caught by being turned on their backs while they are aſleep. This is the only employment or exerciſe uſed by the wretched lepers, who have no other ſuſtenance; and there is neither tree nor ſpring in the iſland, ſo that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackiſh and unpalatable.

The charge of the whole ſpot is committed to one perſon, with four men under his directions, who are wholly employed in killing and ſalting goats to be ſent to Portugal. Of theſe creatures there are ſuch multitudes in the mountains, that in the courſe of one year they had ſometimes killed to the value of four thouſand ducats; and the whole ſtock were produced from eight goats, carried thither by

the

the proprietor of the iſland, whoſe name was Roderick Alfonſo.

On Saturday June 30th, the admiral ſailed for the iſland of St. Jago, where he came to an anchor next day in the evening, and ſent aſhore to buy ſome cows and bulls, as a live ſtock for his plantation in Hiſpaniola: but finding he could not be furniſhed without ſome difficulty and delay, he would not ſtay in ſuch an unhealthy place, which was always covered with a thick fog; and ſailed on Thurſday to the ſouth-weſt, reſolving to continue in that courſe, until he ſhould be under the Line, and then ſteer due weſt, in ſearch of ſome undiſcovered country. He accordingly proceeded, notwithſtanding ſtrong currents ſetting violently to the north and north-weſt, until he arrived in five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was ſo exceſſive that the men could hardly breathe; and had not the air been ſometimes cooled with rain and fogs, the crew would have run the riſque of being burnt with their ſhips; ſo that the admiral reſolved to proceed no farther to the ſouthward, but ſteer due weſt, at leaſt until he ſhould ſee how the weather would ſettle.

On Tueſday July 31ſt, having ſailed many days in a weſterly courſe, and judging the Caribbee iſlands were to the northward, he determined to change his direction and make for Hiſpaniola, being in great want of proviſion and water. He therefore ſtood to the northward, and one day about noon, a ſailor from the round-top ſaw land to the weſtward, at the diſtance of fifteen leagues, ſtretching towards the north-eaſt as far as the view could extend. Salve regina and other prayers were ſaid by the ſeamen, and the admiral diſtinguiſhed this land by the name of Trinity, becauſe three mountains on it appeared at the ſame time.

Sailing

Sailing due weſt, he anchored five leagues beyond a point which he called de la Galera, from a rock that at a diſtance reſembled a galley under ſail: but, here being no conveniency to take in water, he ſailed farther weſt, and caſt anchor at another point, which he denominated de la Plaga, where the people landing, found water in a delicate brook, without ſeeing any hut or people; tho', in coaſting along, they had left behind many houſes and towns. Indeed they found ſome fiſhing tackle, and the prints of the feet of beaſts, ſome of which ſeemed to be goats, by the ſkeleton of one that they perceived on the beach. That ſame day being the 1ſt of Auguſt, in ſailing between Cape Galera and la Plaga, they diſcovered the continent at the diſtance of five and twenty leagues, and miſtaking it for another iſland, gave it the name of Iſla Santa.

The Trinity, between the two points, exttended thirty leagues from eaſt to weſt, but had no harbour in all that ſpace, tho' the country ſeemed very pleaſant, abounding with trees and villages. This run they accompliſhed in a very ſhort time, becauſe the current ſet to the weſtward like a rapid river, altho' the tide roſe and fell above forty paces along ſhore.

The admiral perceiving that he could have no account of the country at this cape, that the ſhips could not be watered without difficulty, and that there was no convenience for careening, proceeded to a more weſterly point of land, which he named del Arenal, where he thought his boats would not be ſo much incommoded by the eaſterly wind which prevails on this coaſt. In his way, he was followed by a canoe with five and twenty men, who ſtopped within cannon ſhot, calling out and talking very loud: as what they ſaid could not be underſtood, he ordered ſome of the men to allure them to the

ſhip, by ſhewing little braſs baſons, looking glaſſes, and other toys, of which the Indians uſed to be enamoured: but, this expedient proving ineffectual, he deſired one of the men to aſcend the poop and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. The Indians no ſooner heard the muſick, and ſaw the geſticulations of the Spaniards, than they put themſelves in a poſture of defence, braced their targes, and ſhot their arrows among them: and the admiral allowed his people to puniſh their inſolence with their croſs-bows, which ſoon compelled the ſavages to retire; tho' they went along-ſide of another caraval, without appprehenſion, and were civilly treated and diſmiſſed by the captain, who ſaid they were well ſhaped and whiter than the inhabitants of the other iſlands; that they wore long hair tied with ſtrings, and covered their nudities with clouts.

The ſhips being watered at Punta del Arenal, from trenches which in all probability the fiſhermen had made, the admiral proceeded to another mouth or channel towards the north-weſt, which he called Boca del Drago, to diſtinguiſh it from the watering-place he had left, which had the appellation of Boca de la Sierpe. Theſe two mouths or channels are made by the two weſtermoſt points of the Trinity iſland, and two others of the continent, lying almoſt north and ſouth of one another. In the midſt of the Boca del Drago, where the admiral anchored, is a rock, which he called el Gallo; and through the other the ſea ran ſo furiouſly to the northward, that it reſembled the mouth of ſome great river. As the ſhips lay at anchor, they were aſſaulted by an increaſed ſtream running northward with an hideous noiſe, which meeting with another current from the gulph of Paria, ſwelled up the ſea with terrible roaring, to the aſtoniſhment and conſternation of the Spaniards,

ards, who expected to be overwhelmed. However, they ſuffered no other damage than that of ſeeing one of the ſhips drag her anchor, tho' ſhe was afterwards brought up by the help of her ſails. This danger being paſſed, the admiral weighed anchor, and ſailed weſtward along the ſouth coaſt of Paria, which he then believed to be an iſland, and hoped to find a way northward to Hiſpaniola: but, tho' the coaſt abounded with ports, he would not enter any, as all that ſea was land-locked, and formed into an harbour by the continent.

On the 5th day of Auguſt, while the ſhips lay at anchor, the boats being ſent aſhore, found plenty of fruit peculiar to that climate, a great quantity of wood, and ſome ſigns of people who had fled at their approach. Sailing fifteen leagues farther down the coaſt, where he dropt anchor, a canoe with three men came aboard of the caraval el Borreo, and being carried to the admiral, the men were civilly treated, preſented with toys, and ſent on ſhore at a place where ſtood a number of Indians. Theſe no ſooner underſtood the pacific-diſpoſition of the Chriſtians, than they came along ſide in their canoes, to barter with the ſame ſort of things which the Spaniards had bought at the other iſlands: but the people here had no targets nor poiſoned arrows, which are peculiar to the Canibals.

They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another of a duſkiſh hue, that taſted like wine made of four grapes. The men cover their heads and middle with well woven cotton cloths of different colours; but the women here, as well as in Trinity iſland, were ſtark naked: they ſeemed in general to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola, and were particularly fond of braſs trinkets and bells---As nothing of value appeared among them but a few inconſiderable plates of gold that hung about their necks, the admiral

ordered ſix of them to be taken on board, and proceeding to the weſtward, touched at two other high iſlands, well inhabited by people who ſeemed to be richer in gold plates than thoſe he had left: they ſaid it was produced in other iſlands to the weſtward, inhabited by Canibals. The women wore ſtrings of beads about their arms, ſome of them being very fine ſtrong pearls, which they ſignified were found in oyſters taken to the weſtward and northward of Paria; and the admiral having purchaſed ſome of them, for a preſent and ſample to their catholic majeſties, ſent the boats to make further inquiry about this precious commodity. When the Spaniards landed, they were received in a friendly manner by the natives, who flocked round them, and conducted them to an houſe, where they were hoſpitably entertained with victuals and that ſort of wine we have already mentioned. Theſe Indians were of a fairer complexion, opener countenance, and better ſhape than thoſe the Spaniards had hitherto ſeen, and wore their hair cut ſhort by the ears, according to the Spaniſh faſhion: they ſaid their country was called Paria, expreſſed a deſire of living in amity with the Chriſtians, and ſuffered them to return to their ſhips in peace.

The admiral continuing to ſail weſtward, found the water growing more and more ſhallow, ſo that he would not venture to proceed farther in his own ſhip, but, anchoring upon the coaſt, ſent the ſmall caraval el Borreo to diſcover whether there was an outlet to the weſtward among thoſe iſlands. She returned next day, which was the 11th of Auguſt, with a report that what ſeemed iſlands, was one continued continent: ſo that Columbus ſtood to the eaſtward and paſſed the ſtreights, which he ſaw between Paria and the iſland of Trinity. This paſſage he effected with great difficulty and danger, ariſing from three different boiſterous currents; and

Auguſt

Auguſt the 13th, he began to ſail weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, from which he intended to ſtand over to Hiſpaniola, being now ſatisfied that it was a continent, from the report of the Indians, the extent of the gulph of pearls, and the largeneſs of the rivers that run from it into the ſea. In their courſe, the weather being calm, he was carried by the currents to the northweſt. On Wedneſday Auguſt 15th, he left Cape de las Conchas to the ſouthward, and the iſland Margareta to the weſt, ſteered by ſix others, which he called las Guardas, and three more northerly, denominated los Teſtigos; and on Monday the 20th, came to an anchor between Beaca and Hiſpaniola, from whence he ſent ſome Indians with a letter to his brother the Adelantado. He now ſtood to the eaſtward; and on the 30th, entered the harbour of St. Domingo, where his brother had built a city ſo called, in memory of his father, whoſe name was Dominick.

By this time, he was almoſt blind with over-watching, and quite exhauſted with fatigue; but, he now flattered himſelf with the proſpect of enjoying his repoſe in the boſom of peace and tranquillity. Nevertheleſs, he was grievouſly diſappointed in this expectation, for he found the whole iſland in diſorder and rebellion. The greateſt part of thoſe he had left were dead, above one hundred and ſixty were miſerably infected with the venereal diſtemper; a great number had rebelled with one Francis Roldan, whom he had left as alcalde mayor or chief juſtice; and his chagrin was completed, when he did not find the three ſhips which he had diſpatched before him from the Canaries.

We have already obſerved, that a great deal of time elapſed before Columbus could obtain from their catholic majeſties, a ſupply for the colony of

Hiſpaniola: in this interval, proviſions beginning to fail among the Spaniards of that iſland, they began to murmur, became diſſatisfied with their ſituation, and even deſpaired of the admiral's return. Roldan, whoſe poſt gave him conſiderable influence, reſolved to profit by this ſpirit of diſcontent, ſo as to center the whole power in his own hands, and with this view encouraged the murmurs of the malecontents againſt the lieutenant and his brother James, to whoſe inſolence and tyranny he imputed all their wants and ſufferings, and even tampered with ſome chiefs of the iſland, whom he endeavoured to attach to his own party. His intrigues met with ſuch ſucceſs, that a great number of the Spaniards were alienated from the brothers of Columbus, and even made ſeveral attempts upon their lives: at length Roldan, pulling off the maſk, aſſembled his men to the number of ſixty five, and attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and fort of Conception; but this ſcheme miſcarried, through the vigilance of Balleſter the commandant, who having got intimation of his deſign, communicated it to the lieutenant, from whom he received a reinforcement. In conſequence of this rebellious behaviour, the Adelantado ordered Roldan to reſign the rod of juſtice, and ſubmit himſelf to an impartial trial: but theſe commands he rejected with diſdain, and marched with his mutineers to Iſabella, where having in vain tried to launch a caraval which was upon the ſtocks, he plundered the magazines and ſtore-houſes, and obliged James Columbus to retire into the fort for protection. He afterwards fell upon the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, killed a number for proviſion, and took all the beaſts of burthen, to ſerve his people in their march to the province of Xaragua, where they intended to fix their habitation, becauſe it was the moſt pleaſant and plentiful part of the iſland,

iſland, and abounded with beautiful women. But before he ſet out for this retreat, he reſolved to make trial of his ſtrength, and ſurprize, if poſſible, the town of Conception, where he purpoſed to murther the lieutenant, from whom he did not doubt that he ſhould be a le to ſeduce his men, who were but too fond of the idle and voluptuous life which he intended to lead. The Adelantado, who was a man of equal courage and diſcretion, took ſuch meaſures to prevent this ſeduction, that not one of his people would forſake him, and he marched out againſt Roldan, who did not think proper to hazard an encounter, but made ſhift by artful inſinuations to the prejudice of Columbus, to engage Guarinvex, a powerful cacique in his company. In conſequence of his ſuggeſtions, this Indian chief entered into an aſſociation with other lords of the iſland, who were cajoled with the hope of ſeeing their tribute remitted; and it was reſolved that, at the full moon, the natives ſhould ſurprize and murther the Spaniards, who lived among them in ſmall detached parties, for the convenience of finding ſubſiſtance. This project likewiſe miſgave, through the ignorance of the Indians; for, ſome of them being miſtaken by the appearance of the moon, fell upon the Chriſtians before the appointed time, and were eaſily repulſed: by this attempt the conſpiracy was diſcovered, and the Spaniards were afterwards ſo much upon their guard, that they had no chance of ſucceeding in another effort.

Roldan was not a little mortified at theſe repeated miſcarriages, and thinking himſelf unſafe in any other part of the iſland, retired with his followers to Xaragua, proclaiming himſelf the protector of the Indians againſt the inſolence and oppreſſion of the lieutenant and his brother. His artful miſrepreſentations not only had an effect

among the natives, ſome of whom refuſed to pay the ſettled tribute, but likewiſe left an impreſſion upon the minds of thoſe Spaniards who ſtill remained under the government of the lieutenant: many of them were, by the nature and warmth of the climate, diſpoſed to lead a life of idleneſs, and as they had received no ſupplies from Spain for a conſiderable length of time, they grew diſcontented; and indeed ſuch a ſpirit of diſobedience had diffuſed itſelf among them, that the Adelantado durſt not venture to puniſh the guilty, for fear of a general inſurrection and revolt. From theſe apprehenſions, however, he was in ſome meaſure freed by the arrival of the firſt two ſhips which were ſent out in conſequence of the admiral's ſollicitations: there being a reinforcement of men and proviſions, together with the aſſurance that the admiral himſelf would ſoon follow, the people were encouraged to perſevere in their duty, and the rebels intimidated by the proſpect of being puniſhed whenever Columbus ſhould arrive. The two ſhips being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched thitherward, in order to furniſh himſelf with neceſſaries, and ſeduce, if poſſible, ſome of the new comers to his party: but, he was anticipated by the activity of the lieutenant, who reached the place before he was within ſix leagues of it, and guarded the paſſes in ſuch a manner that he could not proceed. Nevertheleſs, as he earneſtly wiſhed that the admiral might find the iſland in tranquillity, the Adelantado ſent overtures of accommodation to Roldan by Peter Fernandez Coronell, commander of the two ſhips, whom he received in an hoſtile manner, and ſent back with a contemptuous refuſal.

Things remained in this ſituation, till the arrival of the three ſhips which the admiral had detached from the Canary iſlands. Theſe veſſels proceeded with favourable winds, until they made the

the Caribbees; but as their pilots were unacquainted with the ports of Hiſpaniola, inſtead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, they were driven by the currents as far weſtward as the province of Xaragua, where they were viſited by Roldan and his followers, and a great number of their people debauched into his ſervice. The three captains underſtanding that there was a diviſion between the lieutenant and the chief juſtice, agreed that Caravajal ſhould ſtay in Xaragua, and endeavour to effect an accommodation; that John Anthony Columbus ſhould conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that Arana ſhould ſail about with the ſhips. Accordingly John Anthony Columbus landed with forty men, and on the ſecond day of his march, he was abandoned by all his followers, who deſerted to the rebels, except ſix or ſeven, with whom he was fain to return on board, after having in vain expoſtulated with Roldan upon his treacherous conduct on this occaſion. The ſhips, after a troubleſome voyage, in which their proviſions were ſpoiled, and Caravajal's veſſel greatly damaged, arrived at St. Domingo, where the captains found the admiral returned from the diſcovery of the continent. He had been informed by his brother of Roldan's revolt, and reſolved to ſend a circumſtantial detail of the whole affair to their catholic majeſties. Mean while, that he might not be accuſed of having neglected to take any one ſtep that could quiet theſe diſſenſions, he deſired Balleſter, who was near Roldan, to demand a conference, and tell him that the admiral was extremely ſorry for the breach that had happened between him and the lieutenant, and very deſirous of healing it up; that he ſhould be glad to ſee him, and, if he thought proper, would grant him a ſafe conduct. At the ſame time, Columbus underſtanding that the rebels complained of their

being detained upon the iſland, by the want of veſſels to reconvey them to their own country, he publiſhed a proclamation, giving leave of departure to all that would return to Spain, and promiſing to ſupply them with free paſſage and proviſions. Notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions, Roldan treated all his advances to reconciliation with indignity and inſult, telling Balleſter, that it was in his power either to ſupport or ſuppreſs the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat, except through the mediation of Caravajal, whom he knew to be a man of honour and diſcretion.

Although Columbus had great reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity of this man, who had actually ſupplied the rebels with arms while the ſhips lay at Xaragua, yet as he was a perſon of conſequence and a good ſhare of prudence, which he thought would influence him to act with ſincerity in this negotiation, he ſent him and Balleſter as deputies to Roldan, who refuſed to treat, on pretence that they had not ſet at liberty ſome of his Indian friends, whom they had taken in actual rebellion: he likewiſe ſent an inſolent letter to the admiral, ſubſcribed by his followers, renouncing all obedience to his authority. He was, afterwards, however prevailed upon to accept of a ſafe conduct, and viſit the admiral, to whom he made ſuch extravagant propoſals as the other could not embrace without bringing his own character into contempt. He, therefore, explained his reaſons for rejecting them, and proclaimed a free pardon to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty and allegiance within the ſpace of thirty days: and about the ſame time, he ſent five ſhips to Spain with a particular account of the colony, and diſſenſions, addreſſed to their catholic majeſties. A copy of the pardon, together with new overtures of peace, was conveyed to the rebels by Caravajal, and after great altercation and diſpute,

diſpute, both ſides at length agreed, that the admiral ſhould deliver to Roldan two good ſhips, well manned, rigged and victualled, for tranſporting him and his people to Spain, from the port of Xaragua; that he ſhould iſſue an order for the payment of their ſalaries and wages, to the day of their departure; and reſtore ſuch of their effects as had been ſeized by his or the lieutenant's order: and that within fifty days from the ratification of this agreement, they ſhould leave the iſland. Matters being thus compromiſed, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ſhips, but, neceſſaries being very ſcarce, and the weather extremely boiſterous, ſome time elapſed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, and in that interval, Roldan changed his mind, and taking advantage of the delay, during which he ſaid, his people had conſumed a great part of the proviſion that was intended for the voyage, he renounced the agreement and refuſed to embark. Caravajal, who went to Xaragua with the ſhips, after having in vain exhorted the rebels to comply with the articles of the agreement, entered a proteſt againſt their proceedings, and returned with the ſhip to St. Domingo, where he told the admiral, that Roldan ſtill expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing the affair accommodated, and deſired a ſafe conduct, by virtue of which he would come and treat in perſon. Columbus, knowing the mutinous diſpoſition of his own people, was extremely ſollicitous about healing the diviſion, and not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went round with two caravals to the port of Azura, which is near Xaragua, and there he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that the admiral ſhould ſend home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the firſt ſhips bound for Spain; that he ſhould give land and houſes, in lieu of pay, to thoſe who remained; that an act of

general amneſty ſhould paſs and be publiſhed, and that Roldan ſhould a-new be appointed perpetual judge.

This affair, which had been ſo long in agitation, being thus adjuſted, the admiral appointed a captain to march a body of men round the iſland, in order to pacify, reduce and puniſh the rebellious Indians, while he himſelf propoſed to return to Spain, with his brother the lieutenant, that no cauſe of animoſity might be left in Hiſpaniola, ſo as to endanger another revolt. While he was employed in making preparations for the voyage, Alonzo de Ojeda arrived in the iſland with four ſhips, from a diſcovering cruize, and putting into the port of Yaquimo, not only committed acts of outrage upon the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with ſome of the Spaniards, who were hardly as yet confirmed in their duty after the late troubles; to theſe he inſinuated that queen Iſabella was in a very bad ſtate of health, and that after her deceaſe, the admiral would find no protection at court, but, on the contrary, muſt fall a victim to the hatred of Ojeda's kinſman the biſhop, whom we have already mentioned as the inveterate enemy of Columbus. The admiral being informed of his proceedings, ordered Roldan to march againſt him with one and twenty men; and accordingly the chief juſtice came upon him ſo ſuddenly, at the houſe of a cacique called Haniguaba, that finding it impoſſible to eſcape, and being too weak to make any oppoſition, he went forth to meet him, excuſed his landing, upon pretence of being in want of proviſion, and declared he had no intention to diſturb the repoſe of the iſland. Then he told Roldan, that he had diſcovered ſix hundred leagues to the weſtward along the coaſt of Paria, where he found people who fought the Chriſtians hand to hand with ſuch valour, that he could make

no

no advantage of the wealth of the country, from whence he had brought ſome ſkins of deer, rabbets, tygers and gaaninis; and concluded with a promiſe, that he would ſoon ſail round to St. Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, he ſailed to the province of Xaragua, where he ſeduced a good number of the people who had been in rebellion, by telling them them that he and Caravajal were appointed by their majeſties, counſellors and checks upon the admiral, and that as he had not been juſt enough to pay them, they ſhould go under his command, and do themſelves juſtice by force. This wild ſcheme being oppoſed by ſome of the Spaniards, who deſpiſed the preſumption of Ojeda, a tumult enſued, in which ſeveral perſons were killed and wounded; and Roldan, who had rejected his propoſals, marching a ſecond time againſt him, he was fain to take refuge in the ſhips. The chief juſtice, perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come aſhore and treat of an accommodation, and upon his refuſal, took his boat by ſtratagem; ſo that he was obliged to ſubmit to a treaty, in conſequence of which he left the iſland. Not long after his departure, another commotion was raiſed by one Ferdinand de Guevara, who was in diſgrace with the admiral, for having been concerned in the late ſedition. This man being exaſperated againſt Roldan, who would not permit him to marry the daughter of Canua queen of Xaragua, began to ſet up for himſelf, and entered into a conſpiracy with one Adrian de Moxica, who had been a chief actor in the firſt rebellion; theſe two projectors engaged many people in their intereſt, and reſolved to ſurpriſe and murther the chief juſtice, whom Guevara conſidered as his greateſt enemy, and the chief obſtacle to his deſign.

Roldan

Roldan having got intelligence of their purpoſe, concerted his meaſures ſo well, that he ſeized the chief conſpirators, and being directed by the admiral to puniſh them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial; in conſequence of which, Adrian was hanged, ſome others baniſhed, and Ferdinand with a few confederates ſent priſoners to la Viga, where the admiral at that time reſided.

This example, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the maintenance of peace and ſubordination, had ſuch an effect upon all degrees of perſons, that tranquillity was reſtored through the whole iſland, and the Indians ſubmitted without further oppoſition. About this time, ſuch rich gold mines were diſcovered, that every man began to dig on his own account, paying to the king one third of what he found; and their labour proſpered to ſuch a degree, that one man has been known to gather forty ounces in one day; and one lump of pure gold was found, that weighed one hundred and ninety ſix ducats.

While Columbus was thus indefatigably employed in appeaſing the troubles of Hiſpaniola, and ſecuring the property of it for their catholic majeſties, he little dreamed what a ſtorm was brewing againſt him at home. During the rebellion, a number of complaints had been ſent to Spain by the malecontents, who repreſented him as an inſolent alien, ignorant of the laws and cuſtoms of the Spaniſh nation, without moderation to ſupport the dignity to which he had been raiſed, oppreſſive and cruel in his diſpoſition, and ſo avaritious that he not only with-held the pay from the ſervants of the government, but likewiſe embezzled the riches of the iſland. They inveighed ſtill more bitterly againſt his brother the Adelantado, nor did James eſcape the utmoſt virulence of cenſure. Theſe invectives being trumpeted by the friends of the complainers,

complainers, and encouraged by many perſons at court, who envied the ſucceſs and reputation of Columbus, ſuch a clamour was raiſed in Caſtile, that the king and queen were every day ſurrounded in the ſtreets, and even in the palace, by people demanding juſtice againſt that proud and tyrannic foreigner, who had oppreſſed ſo many Caſtilians, and diſcovered a miſchievous country, to be the ruin and grave of the Spaniſh gentry. Other methods were taken to influence the favourites at court, who joining the importunities of the people, their catholic majeſties were prevailed upon to ſend an inſpector general to Hiſpaniola, with a commiſſion empowering him to inquire into the admiral's conduct, and if he ſhould be found guilty, to ſend him home, while he ſhould remain governor of the iſland. The perſon choſen for this office, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, in very low circumſtances, who being furniſhed with full powers and authority, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of Auguſt 1500, while the admiral was at the Conception, with almoſt all the people of conſequence, employed in ſettling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been aſſaulted by the malecontents.

The new inſpector, finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, took poſſeſſion of the admiral's palace, and converted his effects to his own uſe; then aſſembling all thoſe whom he found diſaffected to the brothers, declared himſelf governor; and, in order to attach the people to his intereſt, proclaimed a general remiſſion for twenty years to come. The next ſtep he took was to require the admiral's preſence without delay; and, to enforce this order, he ſent him the king's letter, to this effect.

To D. Chriſtopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean.

" We have ordered the commendary Francis de " Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with " ſome things from us: therefore we deſire you to " yield him entire credit and obedience."---Given at Madrid, May 21, 1499.

" By command of their highneſſes,
" Mic. Perez de Alamazan.

" I THE KING.
" I THE QUEEN.

The admiral no ſooner received this letter, than he ſet out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla; who without delay or legal information, ſent him and his brother James on board of a ſhip, where they were put in irons, under a ſtrong guard, and entirely excluded from the ſpeech of any perſon whatever. Then a proceſs was inſtituted againſt them, and all their enemies admitted as evidences, who in their depoſitions were ſo malicious, incoherent and abſurd, that no perſon, who had not been determined at all events to ruin the accuſed, would have paid the leaſt regard to their allegations. But, ſo far was Bovadilla from doing juſtice on this occaſion, that he countenanced the moſt flagrant perjury, and even encouraged the rabble to inſult the priſoners, by reading ſcandalous libels in the market-place, and blowing horns at the port where the ſhips lay at anchor. Perhaps the Adelentado, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might have reſcued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to ſubmit quietly, and ſurrender himſelf to the authority of their majeſties, now veſted in the perſon of their new governor, who had no ſooner ſecured their perſons, and laid ſtrict injunctions on Andrew Martin the captain of the ſhip, to deliver the admiral

miral in irons to the biſhop D. John de Fonſeca his old enemy, by whoſe direction he acted, than he began to ſquander the king's revenues among his creatures, to embezzle the treaſure, countenance all manner of profligacy and extravagance, oppreſs and plunder the Indians, and in ſhort, deſtroy the wholeſome regulations which had been eſtabliſhed.

With regard to the admiral, he declined accepting the favour of Andrew Martin, who being aſhamed of his ſituation, would have knocked off his irons; but he inſiſted upon wearing them during the whole paſſage, ſaying he was reſolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his ſervice. Nor did he ever change his opinion in this particular; for, the fetters were always preſerved in his own chamber, and buried in the ſame coffin with his body, at his own requeſt.

On the 20th day of November 1500, he wrote a letter to their catholic majeſties, giving an account of his arrival at Cadiz; and they underſtanding his ſituation, gave immediate order that he ſhould be releaſed, and ſent him very gracious letters, in which they expreſſed their ſorrow for his ſufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of Bovadilla, and invited him to court, with promiſe that he ſhould be ſhortly diſpatched with full reſtitution of his honour. Accordingly on his arrival at Grenada, he met with a very favourable reception from the king and queen, who expreſſed their diſpleaſure againſt the author of his impriſonment, and promiſed that he ſhould have ample ſatisfaction. In the mean time, they ordered his affair to be examined, and the accuſation plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted. A new governor was appointed to be ſent to Hiſpaniola, in order to redreſs the admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to reſtore what he had unjuſtly ſeized; and to proceed againſt the rebels according to the

nature

nature of their offences. This power and commiſſion was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commandery of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel and revengeful, who liſtened to malicious ſurmiſes, and exerciſed great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs. At the ſame time, it was reſolved, that Columbus ſhould be ſent upon ſome voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed, until Obando could ſettle the affairs of Hiſpaniola. But the admiral being weary of the fatigues attending ſuch expeditions, extremely chagrined at the ingratitude of Spain, and apprehenſive of future diſgrace from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, deſired to be excuſed from embarking again, and would not engage in the enterprize, until he was ſtrongly ſollicited by their majeſties, who aſſured him of their protection in a letter to this effect: "And be aſ-
"ſured that your impriſonment was very diſplea-
"ſing to us; for, you and all men ſaw, that as
"ſoon as we heard of it, we applied the proper
"remedies. You know with how much reſpect
"we have always ordered you to be treated: we
"have now directed that you ſhall receive all
"worthy and noble uſage; and we promiſe, that
"the privileges and prerogatives which we have
"granted you, ſhall be preſerved in ample manner,
"according to the tenor of our letters patent.
"Theſe your children ſhall enjoy without contra-
"diction; and, if it be requiſite to ratify them
"a-new, we will do it, and order your ſon to be
"put in poſſeſſion of all: for, we deſire to ho-
"nour and favour you in greater matters than theſe.
"And be ſatisfied we will take due care of your
"children and brothers after your departure. We
"therefore pray you not to delay your voyage."
Given at Valentia de la Torre, March 14th 1502.

The

The Fourth Voyage of COLUMBUS.

THE admiral yielded to theſe ſolicitations, and having received his inſtructions, ſet out in the year 1501 for Sevil, in order to ſuperintend the equipment of his ſquadron, conſiſting of four ſmall ſhips, with one hundred and forty men, including boys. All the neceſſary preparations being made, he ſailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May for St. Catherine's, from whence, on Wedneſday 11th he departed for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portugueſe, who were ſaid to be in great diſtreſs; but, before he arrived, the Moors had raiſed the ſiege. The admiral had ſent his brother D. Bartholomew, and his own ſon, together with the captains of the ſquadron, to viſit the governor, who had been wounded in an aſſault; and he returned the compliment, by ſending on board a number of gentlemen, among whom were ſome relations of Donna Philippa Moniz, the admiral's Portugueſe wife.

That ſame day he ſet ſail for the Gran Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for the voyage. On the 25th, in the evening, he proceeded for the Weſt Indies, and the wind was ſo favourable, that without having handed the ſails, he arrived at the iſland of Martinico on Wedneſday June 15th; there having taken in a freſh ſupply of wood and water, he ſtood to the weſtward among the Caribbee iſlands, and on the 24th ran along the ſouth ſide of St. John. From thence he ſteered his courſe for St. Domingo, where he intended to exchange one of his ſhips, which was a

bad

bad ſailer, that he might continue his voyage with more advantage, to the coaſt of Paria, in queſt of the ſtrait which he ſuppoſed to be near Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But that the new commendary, whom their majeſties had ſent to call Bovadilla to account, might not be ſurprized at his unexpected arrival, he, on the 29th of June, being near the port, diſpatched before him Peter de Terreros, one of his captains, to ſignify the occaſion he had for another ſhip, as well as for ſhelter againſt a ſtorm which he foreſaw; and, on account of which, he deſired the commendary would not ſuffer a fleet that lay ready for ſailing to quit the harbour. So little inclined was this new governor to aſſiſt the admiral with another veſſel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and, diſregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, conſiſting of eighteen ſail, to go to ſea without delay, on their return to Spain, having on board Bovadilla, Roldan, and the reſt of the admiral's enemies.

They had no ſooner weathered the eaſt point of Hiſpaniola, than they were overtaken by a dreadful tempeſt, in which their admiral foundered with Bovadilla, and almoſt all the chief rebels; and of the whole eighteen ſhips, not above three or four were ſaved, while Columbus, who prognoſticated the ſtorm, ſheltered himſelf as well as he could under the land. On the ſecond day, however, the wind roſe to ſuch a pitch of fury, that his other three veſſels were forced out to ſea; where the Bermuda, the ſhip he wanted to exchange, muſt certainly have periſhed, had not ſhe been preſerved by the admirable ſkill and dexterity of D. Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the moſt expert ſeaman of his time. The ſhips being thus ſeparated, every one concluded the other was loſt, until, in a few days, they met again in the port of Azua, where, upon comparing their obſervations, it appeared that Bartholomew

tholomew had weathered the ſtorm by running out to ſea, like an able ſailor, while Chriſtopher had avoided great part of the danger, by lying cloſe under ſhore, like a wiſe aſtrologer. Indeed the admiral's ſatisfaction was conſiderably diminiſhed, by the mortification and chagrin he felt, upon reflecting, that he was denied ſhelter in that very country which he himſelf had diſcovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain. This ſtorm, together with its conſequences, furniſhed his enemies with a pretence for ſaying, he had raiſed it by magic art, for the deſtruction of the fleet bound for Spain; and what added more weight to this ſuppoſition, the only ſhip of the eighteen, that arrived in Spain was the Aguja or Needle, on board of which were 4000 peſos in gold, belonging to the admiral, while the other three, which reſiſted the fury of the ſtorm, were forced back to St. Domingo in a ſhattered condition.

Columbus having refreſhed his men in the harbour of Azua, where they caught plenty of fiſh called ſaavina and manatee or ſea-cow, ſailed to the port of Brazil, which the Indians call Gracchimo, to ſhelter himſelf from another ſtorm that was brewing; and thence departing July 14th, was becalmed in ſuch a manner, that inſtead of continuing his courſe, he was carried away by the current, to certain iſlands near Jamaica, which being very ſmall and ſandy, he named Los Poros or the Wells; becauſe, for want of freſh ſprings, he ordered his men to dig pits in the ſand, from which they drew water for the uſe of the ſhip. Then ſtanding to the ſouthward for the continent, he reached the iſlands of Guanara, near the province now called Honduras, where his brother Bartholomew going aſhore with two boats, found people like thoſe of the other iſlands, a great number of pine trees, and pieces of *lapis calaminaris*, which being mixed with copper,

copper, ſome of the ſeamen miſtook for gold, and concealed accordingly. While he remained in this place, he deſcried a canoe as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, with an awning in the middle, made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike thoſe of the Venetian gondolas; under this cover, the women, children, and all the goods were ſheltered from the weather; and, tho' the veſſel was manned by twenty five ſtout Indians, they allowed themſelves to be taken without oppoſition.

The admiral, rejoicing at this opportunity of knowing the commodities of the continent, without being obliged to expoſe his men to danger, ordered the cargo to be examined, and found quilts and ſhirts of cotton, without ſleeves, curiouſly wrought and dyed of ſeveral colours; ſome clouts for the middle, of the ſame ſtuff, together with large ſheets, in which their women wrapped themſelves; long wooden ſwords edged on each ſide, with flint fixed in a groove, with thread and a bituminous matter, hatchets and bells of copper, with plates and crucibles for melting that metal. The proviſion conſiſted of ſuch roots and grain as are uſed for food in Hiſpaniola, and a ſort of liquor, made of maiz, reſembling the Engliſh beer. They had alſo a good number of cacao nuts, which in New Spain paſs for money, and upon which they ſeemed to put a great value; for, notwithſtanding the conſternation with which they were ſeized, when they found themſelves priſoners among ſuch a ſtrange race of men, they never failed, when one of theſe nuts chanced to fall upon the deck, to ſtoop down and take it up with marks of eagerneſs and concern, as a thing of great conſequence. Nor ought we to omit mentioning their extraordinary modeſty, which was ſo remarkable, that when ſome of them were pulled on board by their clouts, which gave way, they immediately covered their nudities with

with their hands, and the women wrapped themſelves in their ſheets, with ſigns of ſhame and confuſion. This their ſenſe of decorum had ſuch an effect upon the admiral, that he ordered them to be well uſed, reſtored their canoe, and gave them European commodities in exchange for thoſe articles of their merchandize which he thought proper to retain: however, he kept one old man called Giumbe, who ſeemed to be the wiſeſt and chief man of the whole, that from him he might learn ſome other material particulars of the country, and uſe him as an interpreter among the other Indians. This office he chearfully undertook, and faithfully diſcharged in the courſe of the voyage, as long as it continued, among people who underſtood his language; and when he could be no longer ſerviceable, he was diſmiſſed to his heart's content, with many valuable preſents as a reward for his fidelity.

Although the admiral was informed by this Indian, of the great wealth, politeneſs, and ingenuity of the people who lived to the weſtward in New Spain, yet knowing, as theſe countries lay to leeward, he could ſail thither at any time from Cuba, he reſolved at preſent to perſiſt in his deſign of diſcovering the ſtrait in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the ſouth ſea, and reach the ſpice country; and accordingly turned to the eaſtward towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he was told this ſtrait would be found. Nor was the information untrue; inaſmuch as the Indians meant a ſtrait of land or iſthmus, which he miſtook for a narrow gulph extending from ſea to ſea. In queſt of this ſtrait he ſailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Caſinus, becauſe there he found great plenty of trees, bearing a fruit, ſo called by the natives of Hiſpaniola; and near this cape he ſaw people who wore painted ſhirts or jerkins, and clouts, made of cotton, like coats of mail,

ſo

ſo ſtrong as to defend them againſt the weapons uſed in that country, and even againſt the ſtroke of an European ſword. But farther to the eaſtward, near Cape Gracias a Dios, the natives are of a fierce aſpect and ſavage diſpoſition, go ſtark naked, eat human fleſh, and fiſh raw as it is taken; and they make ſuch holes in their ears, as will admit an hen's egg; from which circumſtance the admiral denominated that coaſt, de Las Orejas, or, of the Ears. Turning ſtill to windward, on Sunday Auguſt 14th, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus went aſhore in the morning to hear maſs, with the colours, captains, and a good number of men; and on Wedneſday following, when they went to take poſſeſſion of the country for their catholic majeſties, above one hundred Indians, loaded with proviſions, ran down to the ſhore, and, on the approach of the boats, on a ſudden retired without ſpeaking one word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, employed the interpreter to allure them with horſe bells, beads, and other toys, which pleaſed them ſo much, that next day they returned in greater numbers, with ſeveral ſorts of proviſions, ſuch as hens of that country, which are better than thoſe of Europe, geeſe, roaſted fiſh, and red and white beans, reſembling the kidney beans of Spain. The country, tho' low, was green and beautiful, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees, and mirabolans, together with every ſort of fruit or proviſion to be found upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Here likewiſe were leopards, deer, and other animals. The people are like thoſe of the Iſlands, except in their foreheads, which are not ſo high; their nudities only are covered; they ſeem to have no religion, and every nation ſpeaks a particular language of its own. Their arms and bodies are ornamented with different figures, wrought into the ſkin by fire. The better ſort, inſtead of caps, wear red and white cot-

ton



The Natives of the Carribee Islands feasting on human Flesh.

ton cloths; ſome have ſhort jumps without ſleeves, that reach to their middle, and others have locks of hair hanging down on their foreheads: but on a feſtival, they paint their faces of various colours, ſo as to look very terrible and diabolical.

From the coaſt de las Orejas, the admiral ſpent ſeventy days in ſailing ſixty leagues to the eaſtward, becauſe the wind and current were contrary all the time: nevertheleſs, as there was good riding along the coaſt, he tacked to and fro, and dropped anchor every night under the land; and on the 14th of September reached a cape, which he called Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God, becauſe from thence the land trended off to the ſouth, ſo as that he could proſecute his voyage with the trade wind: nevertheleſs, a little way beyond this head land, he paſſed ſome dangerous ſands that ran out to ſea as far as the eye could reach.

On the 16th, being in want of good water, the admiral ſent the boats into a river, at the entrance of which there was ſuch a ripling, occaſioned by the current of the ſtream, and the wind from the ſea, that in returning, one of the boats, together with all her men, was loſt; ſo that it was named, the River de la Deſgracia, or of Diſaſter. Running ſtill to the ſouthward, he, on Sunday 25th, anchored near a town called Cariari, and in the neighbourhood of a little iſland named Quiriviri, which in people, ſoil, and ſituation, excelled every place he had yet ſeen: for the land is high, and abounds with paſturage, rivers and woods. Cariari is ſituated near a great river; to the banks of which a multitude of people reſorted, ſome armed with bows and arrows, and others with ſtaves of palm-tree, as black as a coal, and as hard as horn, pointed with the bones of fiſhes; a third ſet were furniſhed with clubs: and they ſeemed to have aſſembled with intention to defend their country from invaſion.

But, perceiving the pacific diſpoſition of the Chriſtians, they expreſſed a deſire of bartering their commodities, conſiſting of arms, cotton jerkins, ſheets, and guaninis, which are pieces of pale gold, worn about their necks like relicks. With theſe articles they ſwam to the boats; for the Spaniards did not go a-ſhore that day or the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but preſented them with ſeveral trinkets, that they might look upon the Chriſtians as men who deſpiſed all mercenary views. The leſs the admiral ſeemed to regard the traffick, the more eagerneſs they diſcovered to trade with him, and made ſigns from the land, inviting his people to come among them; but theſe proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on board in a heap upon the ſhore, where they were found the Wedneſday following, when the Spaniards landed. The Indians, ſuppoſing the ſtrangers did not confide in their ſincerity, ſent down an ancient man, of an awful preſence, carrying a flag upon a ſtaff, attended by two young girls, with guaninis about their necks: theſe, at his earneſt requeſt, were conducted by the boat's crew on board of the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed, and fed, and ſent on ſhore again, where they were received with much ſatisfaction by the old man and fifty natives aſſembled on the beach.

Next day, the admiral's brother going aſhore to learn ſomething of the country, two of their chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms, made him ſit down upon the graſs between them. In this ſituation he began to interrogate them, and ordered the ſecretary to write down their anſwers; but, they no ſooner ſaw the pen, ink, and paper, than they were ſeized with conſternation, and ran away, believing that theſe were implements of ſorcery: for they had performed ſome ceremonies of exorciſm

exorciſm before they approached the Spaniards. D. Bartholomew having quieted their apprehenſions, viſited their town, where, in a great wooden palace, covered with canes, he ſaw ſeveral tombs, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; and in another two human carcaſſes wrapped up in cotton ſheets, which did not emit the leaſt odour: over each of theſe catacombs was a board with the figures of beaſts carved upon it; and on ſome of them were the effigies of the defunct, adorned with guaninis, beads, and other ornaments upon which they ſet a value.

The admiral was ſo deſirous of being better acquainted with the nature of this country, and the manners of the inhabitants, who ſeemed to be more civilized than any he had yet ſeen, that he ordered ſeven to be taken, and of theſe he choſe two that ſeemed to be the moſt intelligent, ſending the reſt away with ſome preſents, and an aſſurance that their companions were detained for no other reaſon, than to ſerve as guides and interpreters along the coaſt, and that in a little time they would be certainly ſet at liberty. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, they imputed the detention to avarice; and next day, a number of them coming down to the ſhore, ſent four ambaſſadors on board of the admiral, to treat for the ranſom of their countrymen, with a preſent of two wild hogs, which, tho' ſmall, were very ſweet. Theſe deputies were entertained with great civility; and, tho' he would not comply with their requeſt, ſent them away well ſatisfied, and amply paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted on board by a kind of wild cat, of a greyiſh colour, that was caught in a wood by one of the men, after he had cut off one of its fore-legs. This animal, which is as big as a ſmall grey hound, leaps like a ſquirrel from tree to tree, and not only faſtens upon the branches with its claws, but even

with its tail, by which it often ſuſpends itſelf, either for reſt or ſport. The hogs, tho' naturally very ferocious, no ſooner ſaw it, than they ran about the deck in a fright; and the admiral perceiving their terror, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which immediately wound its tail about the hog's ſnout, and with the foreleg that remained, faſtening upon its pole, would ſoon have made a prey of it had not the people interpoſed. From theſe circumſtances it appeared, that thoſe cats hunt like the wolves in Spain.

On Wedneſday, October 5th, the admiral ſailed into the bay of Caravaro, ſix leagues in length, and above three in breadth, in which are many ſmall iſlands; and between them the ſhips ſail as it were in ſtreets, bruſhing the trees on each ſide. The veſſels being anchored in this bay, the boats were ſent to one of the iſlands, where the men found twenty canoes, and their people hard by them on the ſhore, ſtark naked, with little plates, or eagles of gold about their necks. They expreſſed no ſymptoms of fear; but, for three horſe-bells, gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and ſaid, there was great plenty of that metal on the continent, at a very ſmall diſtance from this place.

Next day the boat's crew went aſhore upon the main land, where they met with ten canoes full of people, who, refuſing to barter away their plates, two of them were taken, that the admiral might have a chance for acquiring ſome material intelligence, by means of the Cariari interpreters; and they confirmed what the iſlanders had ſaid of the gold, which was at the diſtance of two days journey up in the country. From this bay, the admiral ſailed into another hard by, called Aburena; on the 17th put to ſea in the proſecution of his voyage; and arriving at the river Guaiga, twelve leagues from hence, commanded the boats to be rowed aſhore, where

where they were violently aſſaulted by above one hundred Indians, who ran furiouſly into the water, up to the middle, brandiſhing lances, blowing horns, beating drums, and throwing ſea-water towards the Spaniards, at whom they likewiſe ſpurted chewed herbs, with marks of deteſtation and defiance. Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, they were appeas'd by the peaceable behaviour of the Chriſtians, and for a few horſe-bells exchanged ſixteen gold plates, to the value of one hundred and fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuſcade for the boats, and perceiving that no body would venture to land without ſecurity, they ruſhed into the water as they had done the preceding day, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats, that lay upon their oars, would not return to the ſhips. The Spaniards, exaſperated at their inſolent behaviour, wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow, and at the ſame time the admiral fired a cannon, the exploſion of which terrified them to ſuch a degree that they fled with precipitation. Then four men landing, invited them to return by ſigns, in conſequence of which they laid down their arms; and coming back, exchanged their plates very peaceably.

The admiral having got ſamples of what this part of the country produced, proceeded to Catiba; and caſting anchor in the mouth of a great river, perceived the natives aſſembling by the ſound of drums and horns. They ſent two of their number along ſide in a canoe, and theſe having diſcourſed with the Cariari interpreters, came on board without any apprehenſion, and gave their plates to the admiral, who in return preſented them with ſome baubles. This canoe was ſucceeded by another, with three men, who behaved in the ſame manner. And amity being thus eſtabliſhed, the Spaniards went aſhore, and found a great number of

Indians with their king, who differed in nothing from the reſt, but in being covered with one leaf of a tree, becauſe it rained very hard. This ſovereign, by exchanging his plate, ſet an example to his ſubjects, who bartered to the number of nineteen, of pure gold. Here the Chriſtians ſaw a great maſs of wall, ſeemingly built of ſtone and lime; and as this was the firſt part of the Indies where the admiral diſcovered ſigns of ſtructure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

Sailing to the eaſtward, he paſſed Cobravo; and the wind blowing freſh, held on his courſe to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians ſaid the gold was gathered, and the plates manufactured. Next day he arrived at a town called Cubiga, from which he continued his voyage to another, which he called Porto-bello, or the Beautiful harbour; becauſe it is ſpacious, populous, and encompaſſed by a well cultivated country. He entered this harbour on the 2d day of November, paſſing between two ſmall iſlands, within which the ſhips lay cloſe to the ſhore: and for ſeven days, during which he continued here, on account of the rain and bad weather, canoes came conſtantly on board, with people from the adjacent country, to barter proviſions, and bottoms of fine-ſpun cotton, which they exchanged for pins, points, and other ſuch trifles.

On Wedneſday 9th, he ſailed from Porto-bello, eight leagues to the eaſtward; but, next day, was forced back four leagues by ſtreſs of weather; and putting in among the iſlands near the continent, where now the town of Nombre de Dios ſtands, called the place Puerta de Baſtimentos, or the Port of Proviſions, becauſe all thoſe ſmall iſlands were covered with grain. A boat well manned being ſent in purſuit of a canoe, the Indians were ſo terrified that they leaped into the ſea, and eſcaped, notwithſtanding

ſtanding all the efforts of the Spaniards; for when the boat approached any one of them, he dived like a duck, and came up again at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from the place.

Here the admiral continued, refitting the ſhips, and mending the caſk, till the 23d of November; when he ſailed eaſtward to a place called Guiga, where the boat's crew being ſent aſhore, found above three hundred Indians, ready to trade for ſuch proviſions as they had, and ſome ſmall pieces of gold that hung at their ears and noſes: but without tarrying in this place, he put into a ſmall port, which he called Retrete, or Retired, becauſe it could not contain above ſix ſhips, and the width of the mouth did not exceed fifteen or twenty paces, though the rocks on both ſides appeared above water as ſharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was not to be fathomed. The admiral was decoyed into this confined harbour, by the miſrepreſentations of thoſe who were ſent to view it, and who gave a favourable account of it, becauſe here the ſhips muſt lie cloſe to the ſhore, ſo as that they would have the better opportunity of trading with the natives. He lay nine days in this narrow place, to which he was confined by bad weather; and at firſt the Indians came very familiarly to trade, until they were provoked, by the inſolence and diſſolute behaviour of the ſeamen, to acts of open hoſtility. As their numbers daily increaſed, their courage roſe to ſuch a pitch of reſolution, that they came down and threatened to board the ſhips; and the admiral, having in vain attempted to appeaſe them by patience and civility, found it abſolutely neceſſary to alter his deportment, ſo as that they might be convinced of his importance. He therefore ordered his people to fire ſome pieces of cannon, and this noiſe they anſwered with ſhouts, threſhing the trees with ſtaves, as if they deſpis'd

the explosion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder, used to terrify them. Then he loaded one of the great guns with shot, and pointing it at a number assembled upon an hillock, the ball fell in the midst of them, and soon made them sensible there was something more than empty noise: for they instantly fled with such consternation, that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains. These people were the best shaped Indians of any he had yet seen; tall and thin, without prominent bellies, which are frequent in this country. In this harbour were abundance of very large crocodiles or alligators, that sleep ashore, and emit a musky scent, and are so ravenous that they will devour men if they can take them at advantage, tho' they are fearful and cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving that the violent winds from the east and north-east continued to blow without ceasing, and that he could no longer trade with the inhabitants of this coast, he resolved to return and satisfy himself of the truth of what was reported concerning the mines of Veragua; and therefore, on Monday, December 5th, sailed back to Portobello.

Next day, while he held on his course, the wind shifted to the west, but as he did not think this was a settled gale, he bore up against it for some days, during which the weather was very unsettled and unruly, in so much as the sailors could scarce stand upon deck; for the sky seemed to be sinking in a deluge of rain, the whole air appeared like a furnace of lightening, and the thunder roared so incessantly, that the people mistook it for the firing of guns in signal of distress. The men, who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to these dreadful peals and flashes, began to be terrified and to despair, especially as the wind shifted in their

teeth

teeth whenever they endeavoured to make any harbour; and in the midſt of this danger and diſtraction, they had well nigh been overwhelmed by a dreadful water-ſpout that roſe from the ſea to the clouds, as thick as an ordinary butt, whirling about, and daſhing with a moſt tremenduous roar. To complete their misfortunes, they loſt ſight of the ſhip Caino, which they concluded was loſt, until they ſaw her again at the end of three diſmal dark days, in which ſhe had been obliged to caſt anchor, and afterwards was driven to ſea, with the loſs of her anchor and boat.

The ſhips were almoſt ſhattered to pieces by the tempeſt, and the men quite ſpent with cold, hunger, and fatigue, when they were relieved by a calm that laſted two days; during which they were ſurrounded by an infinite number of ſharks, ſo greedy that they would bite at the hook tho' baited only with a red rag. Many of theſe were caught, and out of the belly of one was taken an entire tortoiſe, that afterwards lived on board; and from another, the whole head of a ſhark which we had cut off and thrown into the ſea: ſo that the individuals of this ſpecies ſeem to prey upon one another. Tho' ſome of the people looked upon them as ominous fiſh, and all allowed they furniſhed a very indifferent meal, yet the ſailors ate them with great eagerneſs: for by this time they had been eight months at ſea, and conſumed all their proviſion, except the biſcuit, which, from the heat and moiſture of the climate, was ſo full of maggots, that many delayed eating till it was dark, that they might not ſee the vermin they were obliged to ſwallow.

On Saturday 17th, the admiral entered an harbour, three leagues eaſt of Pennon, which the Indians call Huiva, and there permitted his men to repoſe themſelves for three days; during which, going aſhore, they perceived the inhabitants lived in

huts, built upon the tops of trees, of ſticks laid a-croſs from tree to tree; a ſtrange cuſtom, which muſt have been owing to their fear of wild beaſts, land-floods, or enemies of their own ſpecies; for all along that coaſt, the different nations are at war with one another. From this harbour or bay, he ſailed on the 20th; but no ſooner was he at ſea than the tempeſt began to rage again, and he was driven into another port: from whence he took his departure on the 3d day, the weather being ſomewhat mended. Nevertheleſs, as if providence had reſolved to thwart the expedition, the wind roughened and became adverſe, ſo that he was bandied about, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of every perſon on board, until he made the harbour where he had been before, on Thurſday the 12th of the ſame month. Here he ſtayed from December 26th, till the 3d of January, when, having repaired the ſhip Gallega, and taken on board a ſufficient quantity of Indian wheat, wood and water, he ſailed back towards Veragua, with contrary winds and foul weather. Indeed he was ſo perplexed and fatigued with currents, tempeſts, and unfavourable gales, between Veragua and Porto-bello, that he called the whole coaſt Coſta de Contraſtes, or of Contention.

On Thurſday he caſt anchor near a river which the Indians call Yebra, and the admiral named Bethlem; becauſe he arrived in this place on the feaſt of the Epiphany. To the weſtward of this was the river of Veragua, the water of which was very ſhallow, but the boats went up to the town where the gold mines were ſaid to be. At firſt the Indians ſtood upon their guard, and threatened to oppoſe the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian interpreter going aſhore, and giving a favourable account of the Chriſtians, they were appeaſed, and trucked away twenty gold plates, ſome hollow pieces, like joints of reeds, and ſome grains that never were melted,

melted, which they ſaid they had gathered a great way off, upon uncouth mountains.

On Monday, June 9th, the admiral's ſhip and the Biſcayna went up the river Bethlem, and the Indians came to exchange ſuch things as they had, particularly fiſh, which at certain times of the year come from the ſea up theſe rivers in incredible numbers: they likewiſe bartered ſome gold for pins, beads, and hawks bells. Next day they were joined by the other two ſhips, that could not come in the preceding day for want of water at the river's mouth. On the third day after their arrival, D. Bartholomew went up the river with the boats, to the town of Quibin; ſo the Indians call their king; who hearing of the lieutenant's deſign, came down in his canoes to meet him, and they received each other in a very friendly manner. Next day he went on board to viſit the admiral, who made him ſome preſents, and he retired very well pleaſed, after a converſation that laſted a whole hour, during which his people exchanged ſome gold for bells.

On Wedneſday the 24th, the river ſuddenly ſwelled to a ſurpriſing pitch, and ruſhed down with ſuch impetuoſity, that the admiral's ſhip parted her cable, and running foul of the Gallega, brought the fore-maſt by the board, and both veſſels were in great danger of periſhing. This ſudden riſe of the river was ſuppoſed to proceed from ſome terrible ſhower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua, which were named St. Chriſtopher's, becauſe the tops of them reached above the clouds. On Monday, February 6th, the ſhips being caulked and refitted, D. Bartholomew, and ſixty-eight men, were ſent in boats to the river of Veragua, and rowing up, arrived at the cacique's town, where he ſtaid a whole day, inquiring the neareſt way to the mines: in conſequence of the intelligence he

received, they, on Wedneſday, travelled four leagues and an half; and next day, arriving at the place to which they were directed, gathered ſome gold about the roots of trees, which were very thick, and of a prodigious height. As the ſole aim of this journey was to get information touching the mines, they immediately returned to the ſhips, very well pleaſed with the ſample; tho', as they afterwards learned, the mines from which they had pick'd it were not thoſe of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to people at war with Quibio, who had directed the Spaniards to his enemy's mines inſtead of his own.

On Thurſday, February 14th, 1503, D. Bartholomew, with fifty men, and followed by a boat, marched to the river of Urira, ſeven leagues weſtward from Bethlem, and next day were met by the cacique, attended by twenty men, who preſented him with proviſions, and ſome gold plates were exchanged: and during this intercourſe, the Indians chewed a dry herb together with a ſort of powder. Having reſted a while in this place, the Chriſtians were conducted to the town, where they were hoſpitably entertained with victuals and lodging; and, ſoon after their arrival, viſited by the cacique of Dururi, which is a neighbouring town: he was attended by a great number of his people, who brought ſome plates to truck, and told the lieutenant, that up in the country there were caciques who had abundance of gold, and a great number of men armed like the Spaniards.

Next day D. Bartholomew ſent back twenty men to the ſhips, and with the other thirty proceeded towards Zobabra, where he ſaw above ſix leagues of ground full of maiz, and cultivated like corn fields. Here he was kindly entertained by the natives, as well as at another town, called Cateba, where he purchaſed ſome plates: but having now advanced a great

great way from the ſhips, without finding any harbour along the coaſt, or river larger than that of Bethlem, where he could conveniently ſettle a colony, according to the intention of the admiral, he returned with a good quantity of gold, to the place from which he had taken his departure, and in which a reſolution was now taken, to make a ſettlement, with eighty men under his command. Proper diſpoſitions being made, they began to build houſes, about a cannon's ſhot from the mouth of the river Bethlem, the materials being timber, and the thatch conſiſting of the leaves of palm-trees that grew along the ſhore. Several pieces of cannon, with powder, proviſion, and other neceſſaries, were lodged in a large magazine erected for that purpoſe; except a quantity of wine, biſcuit, oil, vinegar, cheeſe, and grain, which was depoſited on board of the ſhip Gallega, to be left with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fiſhing-tackle, for the uſe of the colony. Indeed theſe laſt could not but be of ſignal ſervice, in a country that abounds with ſuch quantities of fiſh. Theſe the natives took with hooks made of tortoiſe-ſhell, which they cut with a thread, here as well as in the iſlands. Among others, the ſea produces a very ſmall fiſh, called titi, which are ſo perſecuted by their enemies, that they fly up to the ſurface of the water, where they are caught in little matts or ſmall nets, and being wrapped in leaves, are dried in an oven, ſo that they may be kept for a long time: they likewiſe catch abundance of pilchards, which being purſued by other fiſh, will leap two or three paces upon the dry land; tho' they are alſo taken in another manner. In the middle of their canoes, from ſtem to ſtern, the Indians raiſe a partition of palm-tree leaves, two yards high, and plying about the river, make a noiſe by beating the ſhore with their oars, ſo as to frighten the pilchards, which, miſtaking the leaves for land, leap upon

on them in great quantities, and fall into the canoe. Beſides theſe, they take great numbers of other fiſh, that paſs along the coaſt in ſhoals, and bake them, as already obſerved. As for liquor, they have plenty of a very palatable kind of beer made of maiz, and agreeable wine, made of the juice and pith of a certain kind of palm-tree, as well as of a fruit that reſembles a great pine apple.

The houſes being reared, and the regulations made for the maintenance of the new colony, the admiral reſolved to return to Spain without further delay; when his voyage was effectually retarded by want of water to carry him out of the river, as well as by the terrible ſurf that beat upon the ſhore, threatning immediate deſtruction to any veſſel that ſhould approach it. This circumſtance was the more unfortunate, as the rains, which alone could ſwell the river, were paſt, and the bottoms of the ſhips were like honey-combs, being worm-eaten through and through. To complete the diſaſter, it was caſually diſcovered by means of an interpreter, that Quibio intended to ſet fire to the houſes of the Chriſtians, who had made a ſettlement in his dominions, contrary to the inclination of him and his people. In this dilemma, the admiral concerted meaſures with his brother, for taking the cacique priſoner, together with his principal men, and carry them to Spain as hoſtages for the good behaviour of his ſubjects. Accordingly, on the 30th of March, the lieutenant, with above ſeventy men, proceeded to the village of Veragua, conſiſting of ſtraggling houſes; and at a ſmall diſtance from it, received a meſſage from the cacique, deſiring he would not come up to his houſe, which ſtood by itſelf upon a hill: notwithſtanding this intimation, he reſolved to go up with five men only, after having ordered the reſt to follow, two and two, at ſome diſtance, and when they ſhould hear a muſket

muſket fired, to beſet the houſe, that no body might eſcape. As he approached the reſidence of Quibio, he was met by another meſſenger, who begged he would not enter the houſe, for the cacique himſelf would come out, tho' he was wounded by an arrow. Theſe entreaties were the effect of jealouſy, which prevails ſo much among the Indians of this coaſt, that they will not allow their women to be ſeen. Quibio coming to the door, according to his promiſe, was immediately ſeized by the lieutenant, and the muſket being fired, the reſt of the Spaniards ſurrounded the houſe, in which were about thirty perſons, who ſeeing their prince taken, made no oppoſition. Among theſe were the wives and children of the cacique, together with ſome men of note, who offered to ranſom themſelves with a great quantity of gold that was concealed in an adjoining wood. Bartholomew, without regarding theſe offers, ordered Quibio and the reſt, male and female, to be bound, and carried on board, before the country ſhould take the alarm; and as he himſelf intended to ſtay, with the greateſt part of the men, in order to ſecure ſome of the cacique's kindred and ſubjects, whom he had not yet taken, he delivered the priſoners to John Sanchez de Cadiz, an able pilot, and a man of good reputation, who undertook, with great confidence and alacrity, to carry them ſafely on board of the admiral. He accordingly embarked with them in the boat; and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Sanchez, out of compaſſion, looſed them from each other, tho' he kept the rope to which he was tied in his own hand. The Indian prince, finding his hands at liberty, took an opportunity, while the pilot looked another way, to plunge into the river, with ſuch violence, that Sanchez quitted the rope in order to ſave himſelf; and as it then began to be dark, and the boat was immediately

ly filled with confuſion, it was impoſſible to hear or ſee how he went aſhore; ſo that, after a fruitleſs ſearch, the pilot was fain to row on board of the admiral, overwhelmed with ſhame and vexation.

Next day, the lieutenant, finding it would be impracticable to overtake the fugitive Indians, returned with his men to the ſhips, and preſented the plunder of Quibio's houſe, worth three hundred ducats in plates and eagles, to his brother, who, having deducted the fifth part for their catholic majeſties, divided the reſt among thoſe who went upon the expedition.

The colony being now ſettled under proper regulations, and the river being ſwelled by the rains, Columbus ordered his ſhips to be lightened, and towed by the boats over the bar, on which all the three ſtruck, tho' without receiving much damage. Then they took in every thing they had been obliged to unſtow, and lay waiting for a fair wind to ſail for Hiſpaniola, from whence the admiral propoſed to ſend ſupplies to his new ſettlement. In this interval, the boat went providentially aſhore, and contributed to the ſafety of many Spaniards, who otherwiſe muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the Indians: for Quibio no ſooner perceived the ſhips at ſea, ſo as that they could give no aſſiſtance to the people who were left, than he reſolved to attack the ſettlement; and the woods, by which it was ſurrounded, facilitated the enterpriſe. The Indians therefore, under his command, ſtole unperceived to a ſpot within ten paces of the houſes, and from thence ruſhed upon the Chriſtians, with dreadful ſhouts, throwing their javelins, not only at thoſe they ſaw, but alſo through their ſlender roofs, ſo that four or five were dangerouſly wounded, before the Spaniards could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But the lieutenant, who was a man of great reſolution, ſnatching up a ſpear, ſallied out

upon

upon the enemy, and ſeven or eight of his people following his example, ſoon compelled the ſavages to retire into the wood, juſt as the boat reached the ſhore: tho' the Indians would not engage hand to hand after they had felt the edge of the European ſwords, and the teeth of a dog that fell furiouſly upon them, they continued to throw their javelins at a diſtance, until they were driven from their covert and obliged to fly, tho' not before they had killed a Spaniard, and wounded ſeven, among whom was the lieutenant himſelf.

During this engagement, captain James Triſtan, whom the admiral had ſent aſhore with the boat, would not ſuffer his men to land; but, after the fray was ended, rowed up the river to take in freſh water, at a place that was quite covered with wood. From this grove the Indians poured upon him, in a number of canoes; and tho' he ſuſtained their ſhock with great gallantry, it was impoſſible to ſhelter himſelf or his men from the ſhowers of their javelins, by which he and his whole boat's crew were killed upon the ſpot, except one, John de Neia of Sevil, who chancing to drop over board in the midſt of the fray, dived to the bottom, and gaining the ſhore, made his way through the thickeſt of the wood, to the colony, where he gave an account of the diſaſter. The new ſettlers, terrified at this misfortune, would have relinquiſhed their town immediately, and gone on board of the admiral without orders, had not they been prevented by the lowneſs of water at the mouth of the river, which was not ſufficient to float their veſſel: nay, the ſea beat ſo violently in that place, that no boat could be ſent with advice of their diſtreſs to the admiral, who rode in a very dangerous open road, without a boat, and ignorant of the fate of Triſtan and his crew, until he had the mortification to ſee them driving down the river, covered with wounds, and preyed upon

by

by a number of carrion-crows. Such a melancholy ſpectacle could not fail to create the utmoſt deſpondence among the people, who were now reduced to a ſmall number, and concluded that the whole colony had periſhed. Nor were theſe preſages without foundation: for the Indians, elated with the ſmall advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the ſettlement, which they carried on night and day without ceaſing; ſo that every Spaniard muſt have been killed, had not they removed eaſtward to an open ſtrand, where they made a barricado of caſks and other lumber, and planted their cannon in ſuch a manner as to make great havock among the enemy, who durſt not venture to approach thoſe unknown inſtruments of carnage.

Mean while the admiral waited ten days for fair weather, ſo as that he might ſend aſhore the only boat that now remained, for intelligence; and in this interval, ſome of the priſoners who were confined in the hold, burſt open the hatches in the night, and leaped into the ſea, and the reſt being diſappointed in their hopes of eſcaping in the ſame manner, hanged themſelves in deſpair; ſo that now he had no hoſtages, by virtue of whom he could make peace with Quibio. The weather ſtill continuing boiſterous, and the people being extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, one Peter de le Deſma, a pilot of Sevil, undertook to ſwim aſhore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the ſurf began to run high. His propoſal being embraced by the admiral, was put in execution, and he ſwam off again with a circumſtantial account of what had happened, including a detail of diviſions and diſſenſions among the men; for D. Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain authority and ſubordination, and they were unanimous in nothing but their reſolution to leave

leave the place: they therefore begged the admiral would take them on board again without delay, otherwiſe they would put to ſea in their own veſſel, rotten as ſhe was, and rather truſt to the mercy of the waves and weather, than expoſe themſelves to the barbarous reſentment of the ſavages. In conſequence of this information, Columbus reſolved to ſtay and take them on board; and the weather becoming more favourable, they came off, with all their goods and effects, in his boat and ſome canoes laſhed together, ſo that in two days nothing was left behind but the hulk of the ſhip, which was ſo much eaten by the worms as to be unfit for ſervice.

The whole company being thus reaſſembled, to their mutual ſatisfaction, the admiral ſailed along the coaſt to the eaſtward, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots, who thought he might have reached St. Domingo, by bearing away to the north; but he and his brother knew it was requiſite to ply up to windward, before they ſhould ſtrike acroſs the gulph that divides the continent from Hiſpaniola: and as he conſulted his own judgment in this particular, the men began to murmur, from an apprehenſion that he intended to ſail directly for Spain, altho' he had not proviſion ſufficient for ſuch a voyage. At Porto-bello he was obliged to leave the ſhip Biſcaina, which was ſo leaky and worm-eaten that ſhe could not proceed; and turning up along the coaſt, he paſſed the port Retrete, together with abundance of ſmall iſlands, which he denominated las Barbas: thence continuing his courſe ten leagues, he, on Monday the 1ſt of May, 1503, took his departure from a place on the continent called Marmora, and ſtood to the northward, the wind and currents being from the eaſt.

The pilots and navigators on board affirmed, that he was to the eaſtward of the Caribbees, but he himſelf

himſelf was apprehenſive that he ſhould not be able to fetch Hiſpaniola, and this fear was verified: for, on Wedneſday the 10th, he deſcried two very ſmall low iſlands, which he named Tortugas, from the abundance of turtle found here and in the neighbourhood; and on the Friday following, after a run of thirty leagues northwards, arrived at the iſlands called Jardin de la Reyna, that lie ten leagues to the ſouthward of Cuba. By this time, the ſhips being leaky and crazy, the men were harraſſed at the pump, tho' very little able to ſupport ſuch fatigue, becauſe the proviſions were now reduced to a little biſcuit, oil, and vinegar; and in this melancholy ſituation they were overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, in which the ſhip Bermuda ran foul of the admiral, and both had like to have foundered: however, they got clear of each other with much difficulty, and dropped all their anchors, tho' it was the ſheet anchor alone that brought them up; and in the morning there was but one ſtrand of the cable uncut, ſo that if this had given way, they muſt have periſhed upon ſome ſharp rocks that were aſtern.

The wind being abated, he ſailed to an Indian town on the coaſt of Cuba, called Mattaia, where having purchaſed ſome refreſhments, as the winds, currents, and condition of the ſhips would not permit him to bear up for Hiſpaniola, he ſtood over to Jamaica, pumping and baling all the way. Yet, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the water roſe up almoſt to the deck; and when day appeared, he put into an harbour called Puerto Bueno, but finding no freſh water in this place, he ſteered to the eaſtward into another, called Santa Gloria, which is encloſed by rocks, where finding it impoſſible to keep the ſhips afloat, he ran them aſhore along-ſide of each other, and propping them up on each ſide, ſo as to keep them upright, ordered ſheds to be made on the poop and forecaſtle, under which the men

men might be ſecure from the inclemencies of the weather, as well as the attempts of the Indians. This expedient he choſe rather than that of fortifying himſelf on ſhore, becauſe he ſhould be more able to reſtrain his ſeamen from irregularities, which might have incenſed the natives, on whom he entirely depended for ſubſiſtence, his own proviſion having been either ſpoiled or conſumed. As the natives reſorted in great numbers to the ſhips with what they had to barter, he appointed two perſons to ſuperintend the market, and prevent abuſes or frauds of either ſide, as well as to divide the purchaſe equally among the people, that nothing might be embezzled or engroſſed. His regulations were alike agreeable to his own men, who were plentifully ſupplied; and to the Indians, who exchanged two little animals like rabbits, which they called hutics, for a bit of tin, and cakes of their bread named zabi, for two or three glaſs beads, tho', for a quantity of any thing, they received a hawk's bell; and a cacique or great man was ſometimes preſented with a ſmall looking-glaſs, red cap, or pair of ſciſſars.

Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, the admiral's next care was, to conſult with his officers about the means of tranſporting themſelves to Hiſpaniola; and, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that two canoes ſhould be ſent thither, with an account of the misfortune which had happened to the admiral, and a letter to the governor, deſiring that a ſhip might be ſent immediately to his relief. The canoes being choſen for this dangerous expedition, James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's chief ſecretary, embarked in one, with ſix Chriſtians, and ten Indians to row; and Bartholomew Freſco, a Genoeſe gentleman, went on board of the other, with the like number of hands; this laſt having orders to return immediately with the news of their ſafe arrival,

rival, while Mendez ſhould continue his route over land to St. Domingo. Thus diſpoſed, they rowed to the eaſtermoſt point of Jamaica, under the conduct of the admiral's brother, who took care to ſupply them with the neceſſary proviſion for the voyage; and as the diſtance between the two iſlands amounted to thirty leagues, without any interveening land, except one little iſland or rock, about eight leagues from the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, he very judiciouſly waited for a calm, and having diſmiſſed them on their voyage, ſtayed till they were fairly out of ſight, and then returned to his brother.

In a little time after the departure of theſe canoes, the men who were left began to grow ſickly, in conſequence of the fatigue they had undergone, and the change of proviſion; and (which is the caſe on all ſuch occaſions) a ſpirit of diſcontent diffuſed itſelf among them. They now caballed and murmured in private againſt the admiral, ſaying, he had no intention to return to Spain, where he was in diſgrace with their catholic majeſties; nor could he have any hopes of aſſiſtance from Hiſpaniola, the governor of which had already refuſed him ſhelter in his diſtreſs: and laſtly, they ſuggeſted that Mendez and Freſco were both loſt, otherwiſe the latter would have returned by this time, according to his promiſe. For theſe reaſons it was their buſineſs to conſult their own ſafety, by leaving the admiral, who was now lame in all his limbs with the gout, and follow their companions to Hiſpaniola, where they would be the better received by the commendary Lares, on account of their having abandoned Columbus, whom he hated. Theſe arguments were ſuggeſted and encouraged by two brothers, called Porras, who aſſured them of protection on their return to Spain, from the biſhop D. John de Fonſeca, as well as from the Treaſurer Morales, by whom their ſiſter was kept as a concubine: and

ſuch

ſuch effect had the inſinuations of theſe ringleaders, one of whom was captain of the ſhip Bermuda, and the other comptroller of the ſquadron, that eight and forty of the men were perſuaded to follow them at all events, and to provide themſelves with every thing neceſſary for the execution of their purpoſe. On the 2d day of January, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had choſen for their leader, aſcending the quarter deck, where the admiral lay confined to his bed, "What is the reaſon, my lord, "(ſaid he) that you will not return to Spain, but "keep us in this place to periſh?" To this inſolent interrogation, Columbus, ſuſpecting the conſpiracy, very calmly replied, that he did not ſee how they could return to Spain, until they ſhould be aſſiſted with a veſſel from Hiſpaniola; that no man was more deſirous than he to be gone, as well on account of his own private intereſt, as for the ſafety of his people; and that, for their ſatisfaction, he would again ſummon all his officers to conſult about the means of gratifying their inclination. This judicious remonſtrance had no weight with Porras, who ſaid, it was now no time to talk; for that he ſhould either embark immediately, or ſtay there by himſelf: then crying with a loud voice, "I am "going to Spain with thoſe that will follow me," all his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the forecaſtle, poop, and round-tops, ſo that uproar and univerſal confuſion enſued. The admiral, tho' lame in bed, hearing the noiſe of this tumult, ſtarted up in order to quell the mutiny, but was with-held by his ſervants, who were afraid that he would be murdered by the conſpirators. They likewiſe diſarmed and confined his brother D. Bartholomew, who had bravely ruſhed out upon the mutineers, with an half pike in his hand, and entreated Porras to be gone, without doing further miſchief, or making any attempt upon

the life of Columbus, for which they could not fail of being one day ſeverely puniſhed. He did not think proper to regard this caution, but ſeizing ten canoes which the admiral had purchaſed from the Indians, embarked with all his followers, who expreſſed as much joy as if they had been already landed in Spain. Upon this occaſion, a good number of the reſt, who were not concerned in the combination, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their fellows, and deſpairing of relief, deſired to be taken on board, to the infinite ſorrow and mortification of the admiral, and thoſe few who remained with the ſick: and in all probability, had the people been in health, he would have been deſerted by the whole company, except his brother, and his own faithful ſervants. The mutineers in the canoes rowed towards the eaſt part of Jamaica, from whence Mendez and Freſco had taken their departure, and in the way committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, adviſing them to apply for redreſs and repayment to the admiral, who was the cauſe of all the injuries they ſuſtained, and to put him to death in caſe he ſhould refuſe to give them ſatisfaction; for his deſign in ſtaying was no other than to ſubject and involve them in ſuch miſery and oppreſſion as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other iſland.

Having in this manner done their endeavours to embroil the admiral with the natives, they began their voyage for Hiſpaniola, with ſome Indians, whom they compelled to go on board every canoe as rowers. They had not made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, beginning to freſhen, and the ſea to riſe, they ſhipped ſome water, and being unacquainted with the methods of managing thoſe veſſels, reſolved to lighten them, by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the ſea. This inhuman ſcheme

was

was executed on ſome, and the reſt leaping overboard, ſwam until they were weary, then hanging by the canoes to breathe a little, the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands; ſo that eighteen of thoſe poor wretches periſhed in this deplorable manner, and not one would have eſcaped, had not they kept a few to ſteer them back to Jamaica, as they now thought it impracticable to proſecute their voyage. When they landed, a council was held, in which ſome propoſed to take the advantage of the eaſterly wind and currents, for running over to Cuba, from whence they would have a ſhort cut to Hiſpaniola; others were of opinion, that they ſhould return, and make peace with their admiral, or deprive him by force of the commodities and arms that were ſtill in his poſſeſſion: but by a majority of voices it was agreed they ſhould wait for a calm, and put to ſea again directly for Hiſpaniola. For this opportunity they tarried a whole month, during which they ravaged the whole neighbourhood of Aramaquique, which was the name of that town and diſtrict, and having made two unſucceſsful efforts to perform the voyage, marched by land to the weſtward, plundering the defenceleſs natives, and the weak villages in their way.

As for the admiral, he exerted all his addreſs and induſtry to efface the bad impreſſions which the mutineers had made among the Indians; ſo that they continued to ſupply him with proviſions, while he employed his care and humanity for the relief of the ſick, until almoſt all his people were recovered: but, as the daily expence of ſubſiſtence had produced a ſcarcity among the Indians, who ſow very little more than is juſt neceſſary for their own occaſions, they began to be remiſs in their attendance, eſpecially as they were already ſtocked with the commodities of the Chriſtians. They were likewiſe influenced by the deſertion and malicious in-

ſinuations of ſuch a number of the Spaniards, who had left their chief in a ſituation which no longer commanded obedience and reſpect. In this dilemma, Columbus, with his wonted ſagacity, fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with thoſe ſavages. Knowing that in three days there would be an eclipſe of the moon, he ſent an Indian of Hiſpaniola, who was on board, to aſſemble the principal inhabitants of the diſtrict, that he might confer with them about an affair that concerned them nearly; and they obeying the ſummons, he told them by his interpreter, he and his people were Chriſtians, and believed in God who created the heaven and earth, protected the righteous and puniſhed the wicked; and therefore would not permit the rebellious Spaniards to paſs over to Hiſpaniola, tho' he had by his providence conducted Mendez and Fieſco to that iſland, becauſe the intent of their voyage was laudable: that the ſame Almighty and all-juſt Being was incenſed againſt the Indians for having neglected to ſupply his people with proviſions, and determined to puniſh them with plague and famine; as a certain token or preſage of which, they would that very night ſee the moon riſe with an angry and bloody aſpect, to denote the miſchief that would certainly fall upon them.—This prophecy had different effects upon the Indians, ſome of whom were terrified, while others ridiculed it as an idle ſtory: but when they perceived the moon in reality eclipſed, and perceived the darkneſs increaſing as ſhe roſe, univerſal conſternation prevailed among them, and they came running from all quarters, loaded with proviſion, and entreated the admiral with loud cries and lamentations, to interceed with God in their behalf, that his wrath might be averted, and they would for the future take care to ſupply all his wants. In conſequence of this promiſe, Columbus

ſaid he would uſe his influence with God, and accordingly ſhut himſelf up, while they remained without, howling and imploring his aſſiſtance; and when he perceived the eclipſe beginning to go off, he came out of his cabin, bad them be of good chear, for he had prayed in their favour to God, who had forgiven them on their promiſe of being kind and hoſpitable to the Chriſtians, and, as a teſtimony of his forgiveneſs, they would ſpeedily ſee the moon lay aſide her wrathful countenance and ſhine with her former ſplendour.---His prognoſtic being verified, they praiſed the God of the Chriſtians, and ever after continued to provide plentifully for the ſubſiſtence of the admiral and his people; for, tho' they had formerly ſeen ſuch eclipſes, they did not think it was poſſible to foretell them without an immediate correſpondence with the Deity, and, therefore conſidered Columbus as a particular favourite of heaven.

Eight months having elapſed ſince the departure of Mendez and Fieſco, of whom there was not yet the leaſt intelligence, the people began to be dejected, ſuppoſing the meſſengers had either periſhed at ſea, or been killed by the Indians of Hiſpaniola, in their way to St. Domingo. Theſe fears were confirmed by the information of the natives, who ſaid they had ſeen a canoe overſet, driven upon the coaſt by the current. Theſe apprehenſions increaſed every day, and at laſt produced a ſecond conſpiracy, at the head of which was one Bernard an apothecary of Valencia, who, with two companions called Zamora and Villatoro, formed a ſcheme for deſerting from the admiral, in imitation of the other mutineers; but, the execution of this project was prevented by the arrival of a veſſel ſent by the governour of Hiſpaniola. The captain, whoſe name was James de Eſcobar, having come to an anchor near the wrecks, viſited the admiral

with compliments from the commendary, who being unprovided with a ſhip ſufficient to carry off ſuch a number of men, had ſent a caſk of wine and two flitches of bacon in a preſent; and theſe being delivered, Eſcobar, without waiting for a letter, weighed anchor and departed that ſame evening. Tho' Columbus was extremely mortified at his abrupt behaviour, he affected to ſay that the caraval had ſailed by his directions, becauſe, ſhe being too ſmall to convey the whole company, he was reſolved to ſtay for a larger veſſel, in which they might all embark at once.---This declaration had ſuch an effect upon the conſpirators, that they poſtponed their enterprize: but the truth was, Lares governour of Hiſpaniola, being apprehenſive that the admiral, upon his return to Spain, would be reinſtated in the government of that iſland, had ſent Eſcobar to reconnoitre his ſituation, and ſee whether or not he might be eaſily deſtroyed. By this caraval, however, Columbus received certain intelligence of the ſafe arrival of Mendez and Fieſco, at Hiſpaniola, and did not doubt, but that he ſhould be relieved in conſequence of their remonſtrances.

We have already obſerved, that they embarked in two canoes from the eaſtermoſt point of Jamaica, and continued rowing and paddling two days, during whi h they ſuſtained extremity of heat, thirſt and fatigue; for, their freſh water was almoſt expended the firſt day, and ſome of the Indians actually died for want of refreſhment. When the ſecond day elapſed without their ſeeing land, they began to ſuſpect they had not taken the right courſe, and univerſal deſpondence enſued: but their hopes were revived, when they ſaw the moon riſe over land, which was a ſmall iſland called Nabazza, at the diſtance of eight leagues from Hiſpaniola. Thither they rowed with their utmoſt efforts,

forts, and next morning going aſhore, found it a barren rock without tree, ſhrub or ſpring; nevertheleſs, they took up plenty of rain water from the holes of the rocks, and ſome of them drank to ſuch exceſs, as produced dropſies and other dangerous diſtempers. Having reſted and refreſhed themſelves with ſuch things as they could pick up along ſhore, they went on board in the evening, and ſteered their courſe to the neareſt land of Hiſpaniola, which was Cape St. Michael, where they arrived in the morning. Fieſco, having repoſed himſelf two days, would have returned to the admiral according to his promiſe, but neither ſailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage, ſo that he was obliged to deſiſt. As for Mendez, tho' he laboured under a quartan ague which was the effect of his ſufferings at ſea, he ſet out immediately for Xaragua, and gave an account of the admiral's ſituation to the governour, who after much importunity, gave him leave to go and purchaſe a ſhip at St. Domingo, which afterwards ſailed to Jamaica, from whence the admiral ſent her to Spain with packets for their catholic majeſties, containing a detail of his voyage.

In the mean time, Columbus being willing to compoſe all differences, ſent a meſſenger to the mutineers under the two Porras, inviting them to return to their duty, and comforting them with the hope of a ſpeedy voyage to their own country, in as much as he had received the promiſe of being relieved, by a caraval from Hiſpaniola, which had brought him a preſent of bacon and wine, part of which he ſent them as a confirmation of the truth of what he aſſerted. Their ringleaders dreading the conſequence of a re-union, uſed all their art and eloquence in diſſuading their adherents from embracing the terms propoſed. They alleged that the admiral was a cruel and revengeful man,

who would take the firſt opportunity of gratifying his reſentment, ſhould they ever put themſelves in his power; whereas by ſtanding upon their own bottom, they ſhould one day be able to effect their own releaſe from this iſland, and then by their intereſt at court, they could not fail to bring their oppreſſor again into diſgrace. As for the caraval from Hiſpaniola, they affirmed it was no other than a phantom, which the admiral, who was a great magician, had raiſed by enchantment; that the pardon he offered was a ſnare, and his whole ſoul a compoſition of deluſion and deceit. Theſe ſuggeſtions ſucceeded ſo well among their followers, that the meſſenger was diſmiſſed, after having been told that they would peacably depart for Hiſpaniola, provided the admiral would ſupply them with a veſſel for that purpoſe; or, if he had but one, aſſign one half of it to them for their own convenience, and in the mean time give them an equal ſhare of the cloaths and commodities that were ſtill in his poſſeſſion; otherwiſe, they would come and take the whole by force of arms.

This threat they actually reſolved to put in execution, and marched down to an Indian village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks: and the admiral being informed of their deſign, detached fifty men well armed, under the command of his brother, who had orders to expoſtulate with the rebels, and refrain from acts of hoſtility, unleſs he ſhould be firſt attacked. D. Bartholomew, having reached a riſing ground within bow-ſhot of the mutineers, ſent a meſſage to their captain, deſiring a conference; but this condeſcenſion was treated with contempt, as the effect of fear, and they immediately fell upon his men in great confidence of victory; ſix of the boldeſt having taken an oath to fight their way directly to the lieutenant, whoſe death they believed would ſoon diſcon-

cert

cert his followers. However, they were diſappointed in their expectation; for, at the very firſt charge, five of the ſix were ſlain, and among theſe John Sanchez, from whom Quibio made his eſcape, and John Barba, the very two firſt perſons who drew their ſwords on board in ſupport of the conſpiracy. As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken priſoner, and his people ſo roughly handled, that they ſoon turned their backs and fled with precipitation; ſo that the lieutenant obtained a complete victory, and returned to the ſhips with a good number of priſoners: he himſelf being wounded in the hand, and only one gentleman of his ſide having received an hurt with a ſpear, of which he afterwards died. Next day the fugitives ſent a petition to the admiral, imploring his mercy, and promiſing to ſubmit themſelves to his good pleaſure; and he immediately gave them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection: but, in order to avoid future animoſities, and a ſcarcity of proviſions on board, he detained Porras in confinement, and appointed a proper perſon to command and lead them about the iſland, for the convenience of finding ſubſiſtence, in exchange for commodities, with which they were ſupplied by his direction. Among thoſe of their ſide who ſuffered in the engagement, was Peter de Ledeſma the pilot, who (as we have obſerved) ſwam aſhore at Bethlem. This man, having received a number of wounds in the fray, fell over the rocks, and was not found till next day in the evening, when the Indians, to their utter amazement, diſcovered him alive. His ſkull was laid open ſo that his brains appeared, his arm was almoſt cut off, the calf of one leg hung down to his ancle, and one foot was ſliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithſtanding theſe deſperate wounds, he frightened the Indians with curſes and threats in ſuch a manner, that they

would fly from him with the utmoſt conſternation; and his condition being known, the admiral ordered him to be carried into an houſe, and attended by the ſurgeon, who during the firſt eight days, diſcovered ſome new wounds at every dreſſing, and yet the man recovered and did well.

All diſſenſions among the Spaniards being thus removed, the Indians grew more cautious of giving offence, and carefully ſupplied them with proviſion; and a year being elapſed ſince the Chriſtians were wrecked upon the iſland, the ſhip we have already mentioned, which Mendez bought with the admiral's money at St. Domingo, arrived in Jamaica, and Columbus with his whole company, embarking on the 28th of June, ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, tho' the wind and current were contrary, and, after a troubleſome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of Auguſt 1504. Here he was received with demonſtrations of uncommon civility and regard by the governour, who lodged him in his own houſe, and fawned upon him with the moſt abject ſubmiſſions; tho' this hoſpitality was altogether affectation; for, he ſet Porras at liberty, and threatened to puniſh thoſe who were concerned in apprehending that rebel. When the admiral's ſhip was refitted, and another hired for the convenience of his friends and followers, he ſailed for Europe on the 2d of September, and before he was two leagues at ſea, the maſt of the hired veſſel coming by the board, he ſent her back into the harbour to be repaired, while he himſelf proceeded on his voyage to Spain.---During the paſſage, he loſt his own main-maſt in a ſtorm, and this damage being in ſome meaſure repaired by the ſkill and activity of the lieutenant, (for the admiral was lame of the gout) they were afterwards expoſed to another tempeſt which carried away their foremaſt, and in that condition the ſhip arrived at the port of St. Lucar

Lucar de Barrameda. Upon his landing, he was informed of the death of his generous patroneſs queen Iſabella, which overwhelmed him with concern; for, tho' he was courteouſly received by Ferdinand, that prince began to think the advantages he had ſtipulated for himſelf were too conſiderable, and accordingly he propoſed new terms, which, however, did not take effect: for, the negotiation was interrupted by the acceſſion of king Philip to the throne of Caſtile; and before Ferdinand returned to Valladolid, from whence he had ſet out to meet his ſon in law, Columbus, oppreſſed with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghoſt in that city. His body was afterwards, by the king's order, conveyed to Sevil; where it was magnificently interred in the cathedral, and the place diſtinguiſhed by a monument, on which theſe words were inſcribed:

A Caſtilia, y a Leon,
Nuevo mundo dio' Colon.

Signifying;
To Caſtile and Leon,
Columbus gave a new world.

The Voyage of VASCO DE GAMA.

THIS relation is extracted from the hiſtory of Oſorio, biſhop of Sylves; an author of ſuch credit, that his name alone is ſufficient to authenticate every particular.

In the reign of Henry ſon of John I. King of Portugal, who was a prince of an aſpiring genius, and a great patron of navigation, many diſcoveries were made by his ſubjects, and under his auſpices, on the ſouthern coaſt of Africa, great part of which, together with ſome iſlands, fell under his dominion. His nephew Alphonſo, who ſucceeded him on the throne, was too much involved in wars, to execute the ſchemes he had laid for extending his progreſs by ſea; but the ſon of this prince, known by the name of John II. ſpared no pains or expence in promoting the intereſts of navigation.

Being informed by an ambaſſador from the king of Benin on the coaſt of Africa, that, at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty leagues from his country, there was a mighty prince to whom his maſter was tributary; and ſuppoſing this monarch to be no other than the famous Preſter John, ſo much talked of at that period of time, he ſent Peter de Covillam and Alonzo de Paiva by land, to obtain ſome intelligence of this potentate, as well as of the ſituation of India. Accordingly they travelled by the way of Grand Cairo to Tor on the coaſt of Arabia, from whence Covillam embarked for India, and Paiva ſet out for Ethiopia, after they had agreed to meet at a certain time at Grand Cairo. The firſt having viſited Cananor, Calicut and Goa, touched

at



T. Jefferys sculp

at Zofala in Africa, from whence he proceeded to Aden at the mouth of the red ſea, on his return to Cairo, where underſtanding his companion was dead, he ſent an account to the king of his peregrinations by a Jew bound for Portugal, and with another embarked for Ormuz, from whence he went over into Æthiopia, where he was hoſpitably entertained, tho' never ſuffered to return.

At the ſame time when theſe miſſionaries departed by land, king John ſent to ſea three ſhips, under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, who ſailing one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the fartheſt diſcovered part of Africa, deſcried the mountains which he called Sierra Parda, paſſed by the bay de los Vagueros, thus denominated from the numerous herds of cattle which he ſaw on ſhore, touched at the ſmall iſland of Santa Cruz, entered the river del Infanta, and finally reached the cape which he called Tormentoſo or Stormy; tho' the king changed that appellation into Buena Eſperanza or Good Hope, becauſe from hence he hoped to diſcover the Eaſt-Indies. But, before this hope could be realized, he quitted this life, after having exhorted Emmanuel, his ſucceſſor, to encourage trade and finiſh his plan of navigation; nor was this advice neglected. Emmanuel, who was a prince of uncommon ſpirit, liberality and diſcretion, had no ſooner ſettled the domeſtic affairs of his kingdom, than he ordered four ſhips to be equipped for the diſcovery, and gave the command of them to Vaſco de Gama, a nobleman of great abilities, on whom he likewiſe conferred the rank of admiral: the other three ſhips were commanded by Vaſco's brother Paul, Nicholas Cœlo and Gonzalo Nugnez. They ſpent the night preceding their embarkation in prayers and vows, at a chapel which Emmanuel built by the ſea-ſide within four miles of Liſbon, and they were next day followed to the ſhore by

an infinite multitude of people, who, with loud acclamation, preferred vows to Heaven for their proſperity and ſucceſs, tho' many looked upon them with compaſſion, as ſacrifices devoted to deſtruction.

Gama, however, and his captains went on board with great confidence and alacrity, and ſailed on the 9th day of July in the year 1497, directing his courſe to the Canary iſlands, from whence he ſtood for the iſland of St. Jago; he was afterwards haraſſed by continual ſtorms for the ſpace of three months, and at length diſcovering land, came to an anchor in a large bay, where he hoped to obtain a ſupply of freſh water, of which the ſhips were in great want. Accordingly Cælo, who was ſent to examine, found a pleaſant river, the banks of which were covered with the moſt beautiful verdure, and thither the ſhips advanced in order to lay in a ſtock of wood and water. Here they ſaw vaſt numbers of ſeals; and the admiral being deſirous of knowing the nature of the place, and the manners of the inhabitants, directed his people to catch ſome of the natives, whom he found to be real negroes by their black colour, thick lips and fleecy hair; but, they were altogether unintelligible, altho' ſome of the Portugueſe on board were acquainted with almoſt all the languages uſed on the coaſt of Guinea.

They were received with great civility by Gama, who preſented them with ſome cloaths, ſmall bells, glaſſes, beads and other trifles, with which they were extremely well pleaſed, and in return, ſupplied their benefactors with plenty of ſuch proviſions as the country afforded: but this friendly intercourſe was not of long duration. One of the Portugueſe having gone aſhore to viſit the natives at their own houſes, was welcomed with great hoſpitality, and for his entertainment they killed a fatted

ſeal,

ſeal, a diſh that diſcompoſed his delicate ſtomach ſo much, that he roſe and retired with ſigns of lothing and diſguſt. Nor did his entertainers oppoſe his departure; on the contrary, they accompanied him to the ſhore: but he, diſtruſting their intention, no ſooner came within hearing of his fellows, than he roared aloud for help, when ſome of the men coming immediately aſhore to his aſſiſtance, the natives ran affrighted to the woods; and now looking upon the Portugueſe as declared enemies, had recourſe to their arms conſiſting of long lances headed with horn, which they throw with great dexterity and execution. With theſe weapons, they ſuddenly ruſhed out of the woods upon Gama and ſome officers who were employed in taking the ſun's altitude, and attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to retreat on board of their ſhips, after the admiral had been wounded in the foot. In conſequence of this rupture, he ſet ſail from that place, having given the name of St. Helena to the bay, and that of St. Jago to the river, becauſe they were diſcovered on the days dedicated to theſe ſaints: a rule which they afterwards obſerved in all their denominations. Between this bay and the cape, he underwent ſuch dreadful ſtorms, the weather was ſo cold and the nights ſo long, that the people became deſpirited and clamorous, ſurrounding Gama upon deck, and conjuring him with, the moſt pathetic remonſtrances, to change his courſe and ſteer homewards, rather than perſiſt in proſecuting a voyage from which nothing was to be expected but miſery and deſtruction. Upon this occaſion, all his reſolution and addreſs was neceſſary to refute their fears, to withſtand their importunities, and maintain his authority: for, when they found him deaf to their entreaties, and firmly determined to anſwer the purpoſe for which he had embarked, they formed a conſpiracy againſt

his

his life, which being discovered by his brother Paul, he was obliged to exert his whole vigilance and caution to hinder it from taking effect. The ringleaders were put in irons, and among these all the pilots, so that he himself and some other officers were fain to perform their functions. At length, the weather took a favourable turn, and he made the Cape of Good Hope, which was doubled on the 20th day of November, to the inexpressible joy of the whole company, who thought there was now no obstacle to oppose the voyage. Coasting along shore, they enjoyed the prospect of a most agreeable country, diversified with wood and lawn, abounding with numerous herds of cattle, and well peopled with blacks, who resembled those of St. Helena bay in colour, features and proportion: when they spoke they seemed to sob; their privities were inclosed in small wooden cases, the rest of the body being quite naked; they played upon pipes, with which they made no contemptible musick, and lived in huts made of clay hardened in the sun, which were covered with straw and clods of earth.

Gama having run seventy three leagues to the northward of the Cape, found another bay, which he called Angra de San Blas, in the bend of which was a small island, where the ships lay to take in a supply of water. The land hereabouts was very fertile, abounding with large elephants and fine oxen, which the natives use as horses. There was also a prodigious number of seals of surprising fierceness, and a multitude of birds called penguins, about the size of geese, which have no feathers, nor do their wings, which are membranous, enable them to fly.

The fleet being watered in this place, set sail again, and, on the 8th day of December, was overtaken by a sudden storm that drove the ships out to sea, and overwhelmed the people with consterna-

tion;

tion; but when the tempeſt ſubſided, they approached the ſhore again, Gama being reſolved to ſail along the coaſt, as he was altogether unacquainted with the navigation of thoſe ſeas. On the 10th of January, when they had proceeded about two hundred and thirty miles from their laſt watering place, they deſcried ſome ſmall iſlands, that appeared extremely pleaſant, decorated with lofty trees, and interveening meadows of a beautiful verdure, in which they ſaw great numbers of cattle grazing: they likewiſe perceived the black inhabitants walking upon the ſhore. The admiral, having anchored upon the coaſt, ſent one of his men who was well verſed in languages, to pay his reſpects to the king, who received him with great civility, and diſmiſſed him with preſents ſuch as the country produced. Theſe people were more civilized than the other blacks they had ſeen; they wore bracelets on their arms, brazen helmets on their heads, and ſabres by their ſides, with handles of tin, and ſcabbards of ivory, not inelegantly faſhioned. In the fleet were ten malefactors who had been condemned to death, but pardoned on condition they would undertake this voyage; two of theſe Gama left on ſhore, at his departure from this place, to which he gave the name of St. Raphael, that they might inform themſelves of the nature and cuſtoms of the country, ſo as to be able to give uſeful intelligence to the Portugueſe when the ſhips ſhould return.

On the 15th of January, they arrived at the mouth of a very large river, the banks of which were covered with verdure, and ſhaded by trees loaded with fruit. Gama came to an anchor in this place in the evening, and in the morning the natives came on board in little boats, without fear or heſitation, and were treated with great civility, tho' the Portugueſe could not underſtand their language.

language. In a few days, four of their chiefs came to pay their reſpects to the admiral, who entertained them ſumptuouſly, and at their departure, preſented them with cloaths of ſilk, which they received with tranſports of joy. One of theſe, who ſpoke the Arabic tongue very imperfectly, ſaid he had lately come from a country not very diſtant, where he had ſeen ſhips like thoſe belonging to the Portugueſe; a piece of information which greatly elevated the ſpirits of the ſailors, who hoped in a little time to reach the treaſures of India. On the banks of this river, which he called de Bon Sinyas or of good ſigns, Gama erected a ſtone pillar, on which was carved a crucifix above the arms of Emmanuel; for, he had brought from Liſbon ſeveral columns of the ſame kind, to be left as monuments of the Portugueſe diſcoveries.

Having repaired his ſhip and refreſhed his men, he on the 24th day of February ſet ſail again, and on the 1ſt of March deſcried four iſlands lying at ſmall diſtances from one another; and from one of theſe came ſeven veſſels, in full ſail, towards the admiral's ſhip, which was diſtinguiſhed by the flag. When the people on board of them thought they were near enough to be heard, they ſet up a ſhout, and hailed the Portugueſe in the Arabic language; and when they approached ſtill nearer, they began to play upon flutes and other muſical inſtruments, and with loud huzzas congratulated the admiral on his arrival in theſe parts. They were of a duſky hue, but well made, and elegantly dreſſed in ſilk, their heads being covered with turbans of fine linen interwoven with gold; and they wore faulchions at their ſides, and targets upon their arms. They were received on board by thoſe Portugueſe who underſtood their language, and the admiral ordered them to be treated with a collation; during which, he deſired to know the name of this iſland, together

with

with the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, as well as the exact diſtance from India. To theſe interrogations, they replied, that the iſland was called Mozambique, ſubject to the king of Quiloa, and ruled by a governour appointed by that prince. Great part of it (they ſaid) was inhabited by Arabian merchants, who carried on a conſiderable commerce by ſea to Arabia, India, and other parts of the world; they gave him to underſtand that he had already paſſed by the country of Zofala, abounding with gold; and laſtly ſatisfied him with reſpect to the diſtance from Mozambique to Calicut: ſo that the people with uplifted hands, returned thanks to Heaven, concluding that now their labours were almoſt at a period.

Mozambique is ſituated in that part of Africa formerly known by the name of Ageſimba, in ſixteen degrees of ſouthern latitude; a country rendered unwholeſome by the redundancy of its marſhes, and inhabited by blacks, who live in huts made of clay and thatched with ſtraw. Yet here, for the convenience of traffick, was a great reſort of ſhips from all quarters; tho' at this time, the wealth and power of the iſland was chiefly engroſſed by the Arabians, who uſed ſmall gallies faſtened with wooden pegs inſtead of nails, and caulked with ropes of palm leaves. This tree, which riſes to a great height, is covered with long prickly leaves, its ſpreading boughs project an agreeable ſhade, and produce nuts of a large ſize called cocoes.

Theſe Arabians knew the uſe of the compaſs, had very accurate ſea-charts, were furniſhed with quadrants and other aſtronomical inſtruments, and in a word, very little inferior to the Portugueſe in their knowledge of navigation. They converſed familiarly and jocoſely with the ſailors, whom they ſuppoſed to be Mahometans from Barbary, and after having received marks of the admiral's generoſity,

ſity, they were entruſted with ſome preſents of greater value for the governor, whoſe name was Zacocia. This man was ſo well pleaſed with Gama's politeneſs, that he reſolved to viſit him on board, and immediately ſent notice of his intention; ſo that the admiral had time to remove the ſick out of ſight, and arm the people for his reception. He appeared in rich embroidered cloaths, wearing a curious ſword ſet with diamonds, and attended by a number of armed men, with drums and trumpets ſounding as he advanced. After the ceremony of ſalutation, he and his followers were elegantly entertained by Gama, with whom he ſocially converſed, and among other queſtions, aſked whether they were Turks or Moors, what kind of warlike arms they uſed, and deſired to know if he had any books concerning the Mahometan religion: the admiral ſaid he came from the weſt, that beſides the weapons with which he ſaw his people armed, they had engines of ſuch amazing power, as not only to deſtroy whole armies of men, but even to ſhake and overturn the ſtrongeſt citadels; he likewiſe told him that he was bound for India, and begged he would ſupply him with pilots in whom he could confide.

This requeſt was chearfully granted by Zacocia, who returned next day with two pilots, and they, for a certain ſum of money, undertook to conduct the ſhips to Calicut: in a word, there was a mutual exchange of good offices between the Portugueſe and theſe iſlanders. But this harmony was not of long continuance; for, the governor no ſooner diſcovered the new comers to be Chriſtians, than all his friendſhip was converted into rancour, and he began to lay ſchemes for Gama's deſtruction. The Portugueſe were reviled and inſulted by the populace; the admiral's life was endangered by a plot, which was happily diſcovered; one of the pilots made

made his eſcape, and ſome of the people, who were ſent on ſhore to wood and water, being attacked by ſeven veſſels, would have loſt their lives, had not the other boats come to their aſſiſtance, and poured in a volley of ſhot among the aggreſſors, who fled in the utmoſt conſternation.

The admiral finding he could ſtay here no longer with ſafety, ſteered to another iſland at the diſtance of four miles, from whence he ſet ſail for Quiloa; but being driven back by contrary winds and tempeſtous weather, he was ſollicited by an Arabian, who begged to be taken on board with his little ſon, and ſet on ſhore at ſome convenient port, from whence he might repair to Mecca, which was the place of his nativity. Gama was glad of an opportunity to indulge this perſon, who he underſtood was an excellent pilot, and his brother Paul having, in the ſcuffle at Mozambique, carried off another man well ſkilled in navigation, the weather no ſooner became favourable, than they went to ſea again in three ſhips, for, the ſtore-ſhip had been emptied and deſtroyed by the admiral's order. Their intention was to make Quiloa, which however, they could not reach; a diſappointment owing to ſome error in their courſe, or perhaps to the fraud of the Mozambique pilot, who now adviſed Gama to ſteer for Mombaze, a city which, he ſaid, was chiefly inhabited by Chriſtians, and in all reſpects well adapted for the reception of his ſhips, and the refreſhment of the men. The admiral was accordingly perſuaded to follow this advice; for, his proviſions began to fail, a great number of his men were already dead, and the ſurvivors in a ſickly and lingering condition.

Mombaze is ſituated in a bay upon an high rock, almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, the harbour being defended by a fortreſs furniſhed with all manner of warlike ſtores, and a ſtrong garriſon; the ſoil is fertile,

fertile, abounding with all ſorts of fruits and vegetables; the country is well ſtocked with cattle, the water is excellent, the climate temperate, the air healthy; and the inhabitants live with taſte, in houſes built after the European manner, and adorned with variety of fine painting.

Scarce had the Portugueſe anchored, when they perceived a galley rowing towards the flag-ſhip, and in her obſerved about one hundred men in Turkiſh habits, armed with bucklers and ſcymetars. They would have come on board without heſitation, had not they been prevented by order of the admiral, who denied admiſſion to any but four, who by their appearance ſeemed to be above the common rank, and even theſe were obliged to lay aſide their arms, before he would ſuffer them to mount the ſhip's ſide. This caution of Gama they extolled with many encomiums, and told him that their king having been informed of his arrival, had ſent them with compliments of congratulation, and proffers of alliance, which the admiral ſaid he would embrace with pleaſure: next day, other deputies came with a ſupply of refreſhments for the men, which his majeſty ſent as a ſmall token of his friendſhip and regard, deſiring, at the ſame time, that he would approach the city and come to an anchor in the harbour, where he could more conveniently give the Portugueſe freſh proofs of his good will. Gama, with all ſuitable acknowledgment, promiſed to comply with his requeſt, and in the mean time, as a mark of his confidence, ſent on ſhore two of his exiles, who were treated with the utmoſt hoſpitality by the king, who ordered ſome of his people to accompany them while they ſhould take a view of the city, and then deſired them to carry a ſample of ſpices to Gama, by which he might be induced to trade with his ſubjects, rather than

than proceed farther, and run the riſque of a dangerous voyage.

The admiral, being overjoyed at their report, immediately ordered the anchors to be weighed, in order to advance into the harbour; but his own ſhip being by the violence of the tide in danger of running a-ground, he commanded the ſails to be furled, and the anchors to be dropped; and the other captains followed his example. The Mozambique pilots ſeeing theſe orders executed, without knowing the reaſon, and being conſcious of their own treachery, which they now imagined he had diſcovered, threw themſelves into the ſea, and were taken up by the people of ſome boats, who landed them on the oppoſite ſhore, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Gama, who called aloud to them, deſiring them to bring the fugitives on board. By this providential occurrence, he diſcovered the perfidious deſign of the king, whoſe affected civility was no other than diſſimulation; for, having heard of what paſſed at Mozambique, he had laid a ſcheme for deſtroying the Portugueſe in the harbour: but his project being thus accidentally baffled, he at midnight ſent a detachment of men, in ſmall veſſels, to cut the cables, which however were preſerved by the vigilance and activity of the admiral, who, as ſoon as he could get clear of the bay, directed his courſe for Melinda. In his paſſage he took an Arabian ſhip, which he diſmiſſed, after having detained fourteen priſoners, and among theſe a perſon of diſtinction, from whom he received ſome uſeful inſtructions concerning his voyage. On Eaſter-day he arrived at Melinda, which ſtands in a delightful plain, ſurrounded with pleaſant gardens, ſtocked with a variety of trees, and in particular the orange, whoſe bloſſoms yielded a moſt agreeable and diffuſive odour. The country was rich and plentiful, abounding not only with tame cattle, but alſo with game

game of all kinds, which the natives took pleaſure in hunting. The houſes are built of ſquare ſtones, in a magnificent taſte. The inhabitants, tho' of a black colour, are not inelegant in their dreſs; their heads are adorned with turbans, the body is naked to the waiſt, from which a garment of ſilk deſcends to the middle of the leg: their arms conſiſt of ſmall bucklers, ſcymetars, ſpears, with bows and arrows; they are extremely fond of military glory. Their religion is Paganiſm, and they worſhip their images with great ſuperſtition.

Gama underſtanding the coaſt was ſhelvy, and the ſea tempeſtuous, and being warned by the danger he had ſo narrowly eſcaped at Mombaze, came to an anchor at a good diſtance from the city, when his Arabian priſoner, perceiving his caution, offered to go and ſound the ſentiments of the king; and at the ſame time told him, that there were four ſhips then in the harbour, commanded by Chriſtians, who having already tranſacted their buſineſs at Melinda, would in a little time ſet out for India, whither Gama might have the benefit of their company.

Altho' the admiral did not repoſe much confidence in the ſincerity of this priſoner, yet, as the advice could be followed without running any riſque, he ordered him to be landed on an iſland oppoſite to the city, to which he was immediately tranſported and conducted to the king, who was an old man, of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and ſo much pleaſed with the character which the Arabian gave of the Portugueſe, that he forthwith ſent a perſon with his compliments to Gama, and a preſent of ſheep and other refreſhments. The admiral, unwilling to be outdone in generoſity, repaid this courteſy with preſents of greater value, ordered his ſhips to move nearer to the ſhore, and ſent an invitation to the Chriſtians of India, who were tranſ-

ported

ported with joy at ſight of ſtrangers who profeſſed the ſame faith, and gave him many uſeful inſtructions with regard to the proſecution of his voyage.

The king being diſabled by the infirmities of age from viſiting the admiral in perſon, ſent on board his ſon, to whom he had delegated the ſupreme authority; and this young prince, royally attired, and attended by his nobles, came in a galley that reſounded with the muſick of drums and trumpets. Gama, that he might pay the greater honour to his gueſt, went in his barge to receive him, and at meeting he was embraced by the young prince with great familiarity and affection. He behaved on this occaſion with uncommon politeneſs; his converſation was ſenſible and ſprightly; he looked upon the admiral with marks of pleaſure and admiration, examined the ſhips attentively, and expreſſed the utmoſt friendſhip and regard for the Portugueſe: and this good diſpoſition was improved by the generoſity of Gama, who made him a preſent of all the priſoners he had taken. But this cautious officer declined his preſſing invitation to go aſhore, altho' he offered to leave his own ſons as pledges of his ſafety. However, he next day ordered himſelf to be rowed in his barge nearer the city, that he might enjoy a more diſtinct proſpect of its beautiful ſituation; and received another viſit from the prince, who furniſhed him with an able pilot, and obtained his promiſe, that on his return he would take Melinda in his way, as the king expreſſed an eager deſire of ſending an ambaſſador to his Portugueſe majeſty, with whom he was very ambitious of engaging in the moſt friendly alliance and intercourſe.

On the 22d day of March he ſet ſail, and ſteering to the northward, they in a few days paſſed the line; then ſtanding to the eaſt, and croſſing a broad ſea, the pilot deſcried the mountains of Calicut; a diſcovery which was no ſooner imparted to the admiral,

miral, than he returned thanks to heaven in a tranſport of joy, and unfettered all the priſoners, that there might not be one ſorrowful heart on board. That ſame day, the ſhips, dropping anchor within two miles of Calicut, were ſurrounded by a number of canoes full of Indians, who came to gratify their curioſity. Of theſe Gama inquired by his interpreters, in what place their king reſided; and one of the exiles being ſent on ſhore to obtain intelligence, was environed by a vaſt multitude, who thronged about him in ſuch a manner, that he was lifted from the ground, and borne backwards and forwards like a wave of the ſea, until he was at length perceived by two merchants from the city of Tunis in Barbary, who were not a little aſtoniſhed to ſee an European in that place; and one of them, whoſe name was Monzaida, ſuppoſing him by his dreſs to be a Spaniard, accoſted him in Caſtilian: but, when he underſtood the ſtranger was a Portugueſe, he expreſſed great joy; for he had been chief contractor for the warlike ſtores which King Ferdinand had purchaſed at Tunis: he therefore deſired the exile to introduce him to the admiral, and they came on board together. Here he was kindly received by Gama, who, finding him a very intelligent perſon, took this opportunity to inform himſelf of many intereſting particulars touching the affairs of Calicut; and the Moor, after having made a tender of his ſervice to the Portugueſe, gave him to underſtand, that his arrival would be very agreeable to the king or Zamorin, whoſe chief care and aim was to extend the commerce of his ſubjects: for altho' his dominions were extenſive, and many princes his tributaries, yet the moſt conſiderable part of his revenue aroſe from duties upon merchandize. Next day, Gama ſent two of his officers with Monzaida to wait upon this monarch, whoſe reſidence at that time was at Pandarene, three miles from Calicut.



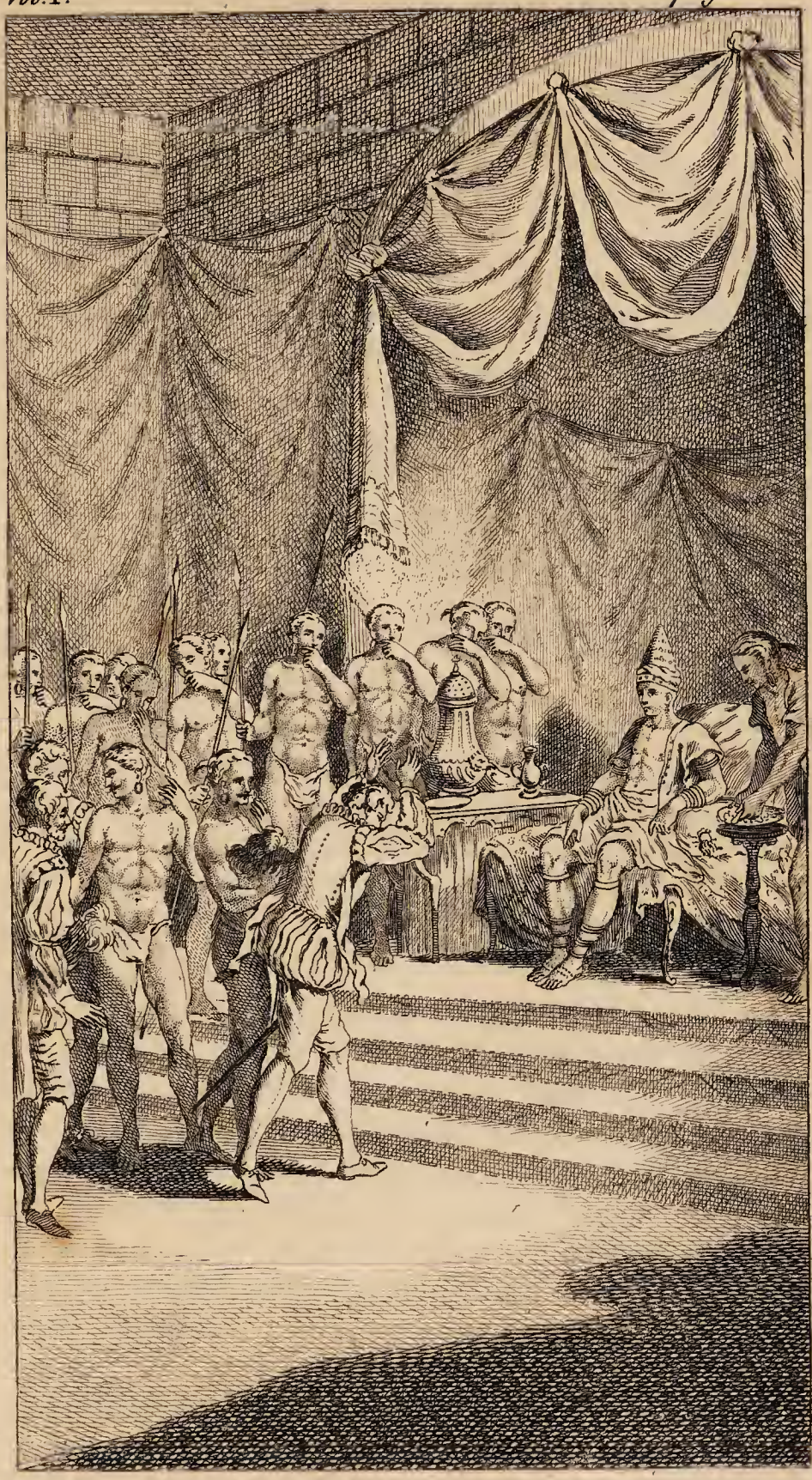
Boats on the Malabar Coast.

Calicut. Theſe deputies being admitted to his preſence, told him, that the King of Portugal having heard of his fame and dignity, had ſent thither one of his admirals, who would be glad to attend his Majeſty, with proffers of friendſhip and alliance in the name of his maſter. To this addreſs, the king made a moſt gracious reply, aſſuring them that he would chearfully engage in a league with the king of Portugal, and for that purpoſe take the firſt convenient opportunity of conferring with the admiral, whom in the mean time he adviſed to bring the ſhips nearer to Pandarene, that they might be the leſs expoſed to the tempeſts, which were frequent at that ſeaſon of the year; and he accordingly ſent a perſon to pilot the ſhips into a ſafer riding.

In a few days, one of their chief magiſtrates, whom they call catual, being ſent by the zamorin to conduct Gama to the palace, the admiral gave the command of the ſhips to his brother Paul, with whom, and Nicholas Cœlo, he left directions, importing, that in caſe he ſhould meet with any accident on ſhore, they ſhould give themſelves no concern about his ſafety, but ſail directly homewards with an account of the diſcoveries they had made; and that they might not be deſtitute of hands to navigate the veſſels, he choſe only twelve men to attend him in his viſit. When landed, he was put into a ſedan-chair by order of the catual, who was carried in another by his ſide, while a number of their nobles, called naires, and all the reſt of the company walked on foot to the city; where having dined, they went on board of canoes, and ſailed down the river to a place where they found a great number of men and ſedans waiting for their convenience. Thence Gama and his attendants were conducted by the catual into a magnificent temple, at the entrance of which they were met by four men naked from the head to the middle, from

whence to the knees they were covered with a kind of ſilken robe; over the ſhoulder of each were three ſtrings tied under the left arm. They ſprinkled a ſort of holy water, and preſented to every individual of the company a powder of a ſweet-ſcented wood, with which they made the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads. The walls of the temple were adorned with curious painting, and in the middle was a little round chapel, with a very ſmall door made of braſs, to which they aſcended by ſteps. By the wall oppoſite to this entrance ſtood an image, which could not be diſtinctly viewed, becauſe the place was dark, and admittance was denied to every body except the prieſts, who approaching and pointing at the figure, called aloud Maria, Maria: then the catual and his attendants proſtrated themſelves, and worſhipped with great devotion; and the Portugueſe, imagining they invoked the mother of Jeſus, adored the bleſſed Virgin in the manner of their own country.

Having quitted this temple, they entered another of equal magnificence, from which they walked in proceſſion towards the palace, through infinite crowds of people, which preſſed upon them in ſuch a manner, that the nobles were obliged to clear the way with their drawn ſwords. At the palace gate they were received by ſeveral grandees, whom they call caimaes, and when they approached the audience chamber, they were met by an elderly man, clothed in a ſilken garment that reached from his ſhoulders to his heels, who embraced Gama in the moſt friendly manner. This venerable perſon, who, was maſter of the bramins, conducted the admiral into a ſpacious hall, accommodated with ſeveral rows of ſeats riſing one above another, in the manner of an amphitheatre: the floor was covered with rich carpets, and the walls hung with ſilk tapeſtry, curiouſly interwoven with gold. The king lay re-



The Zamorin granting Audience to Vasco de Gama.

clined on a magnificent ſofa: he was dreſſed in a ſilken garment faſtened with golden claſps; on his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; his fingers ſparkled with precious ſtones: his perſon was graceful, and his deportment noble and majeſtic.

Gama, having done obeiſance in the Portugueſe manner, was very graciouſly received, and placed on a ſeat juſt by him, while his attendants were likewiſe deſired to ſit down; and in this order they were treated with a collation, after which the zamorin expreſſed an inclination to know the particulars of the embaſſy. To this hint the admiral replied, that the cuſtom of his country would not permit him to communicate his inſtructions in a public aſſembly: upon which the king ordered him to be conducted into another apartment, whither he himſelf immediately repaired in perſon, together with the maſter of the bramins, and ſome of the chief nobility. Here Gama, in a ſtudied ſpeech, gave him to underſtand, that Emmanuel, a prince of great dignity, curioſity, and an aſpiring ſoul, having heard of the fame of India, and in particular of the Calicut empire, was extremely ſolicitous to enter into a league of friendſhip with ſuch a renowned monarch, for the accompliſhment of which, he (Gama) was ſent to that country; and he did not doubt that ſuch an alliance would greatly tend to the mutual advantage of both princes: and in confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he ſaid he would produce the letters of his king at the next audience. The zamorin anſwered in few words, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than ſuch an alliance; and then ordered the catual to attend the admiral to the apartment which was appointed for his reſidence, while others were directed to provide for the accommodation of his attendants.

Calicut, which is on the coaſt of Malabar, was at that time the moſt celebrated mart in India, abounding with all ſorts of merchandiſe, partly its own produce, and partly imported from other countries. The people are bigotted pagans, have a great number of temples, and pay implicit faith to their prieſts or bramins, in divine as well as human affairs. The king is always inſtructed in the myſteries of their religion by theſe doctors; whoſe perſons are accounted ſo ſacred, that even in time of war they have free communication with all parties, and it would be deemed the greateſt impiety to offer them the leaſt violence. The three ſtrings which they wear over their right ſhoulder is a ſymbol of the trinity; and they believe that God came upon earth in human form for the redemption of mankind; doctrines which in all probability they learned from chriſtian travellers. They ſtudy mathematicks and philoſophy; but their religion is nothing elſe but the vileſt diſſimulation, under the cloak of which, they are guilty of the moſt fraudulent practices. They are great obſervers of prodigies and omens, and keep a grand feſtival on the 22d day of October, when not only the boys, but even men of advanced age, march out and ſkirmiſh with one another, in ſuch a manner, that many die of the wounds they receive, and ſuch a death is greatly coveted as the immediate conveyance to everlaſting happineſs. They have likewiſe other holidays, on which ſome devotees are always ready to ſacrifice their lives in public. Their year begins in the month of September, after the day and hour have been fixed upon as auſpicious by their augurs and aſtrologers. The nobility are prohibited from marrying, leſt a family ſhould render them remiſs, and detach them from the feats of war: nevertheleſs they may keep miſtreſſes, provided they be of the ſame rank with themſelves, for it is unlawful to lie

lie with their inferiors; and when a nobleman is convicted of this crime, he is cut in pieces by his peers. Women of quality may indulge themſelves with any number of gallants under the ſame reſtrictions, and jealouſy is utterly unknown. A nobleman's ſon does not inherit, becauſe this promiſcuous commerce renders it uncertain who is the father; he therefore adopts his ſiſter's ſon, who is educated at the king's expence, and inured betimes to danger and fatigue; yet they are not permitted to uſe their arms in the field of battle, until the king has diſtinguiſhed them by ſome military honour: but, as they are furniſhed with proper maſters to inſtruct them in their exerciſes, they are ſurprizingly expert in the uſe of their arms, conſiſting of bows and arrows, javelins and ſcimitars. Their pride ſoars to ſuch a degree of haughtineſs and abſurdity, that they think their blood is tainted even by the accidental touch of a commoner, and that nothing can waſh out the ſtain but the blood of the offender; for which reaſon, the common people in the ſtreets are obliged to call aloud and proclaim their condition, in order to avoid ſuch a dangerous encounter. Nobility cannot be forfeited by the fouleſt crime, nor can a perſon of mean birth acquire it by the moſt illuſtrious actions. The lower claſs of people muſt marry with thoſe only of their own profeſſion; and no man is permitted to follow any other buſineſs but that by which his father earned his livelihood. Inſtead of paper, they uſe the leaves of a certain tree, upon which all their memorable events are recorded, with a ſtyle or ſharp pointed pen; and theſe leaves being cut into regular forms, are tied up compactly between two pieces of poliſhed wood.

Calicut is ſituated in the middle of the Malabar coaſt, at a little diſtance from the ſea, and fills up a large extent of ground; not that the inhabitants

are very numerous, but becauſe the houſes are detached from one another, and ſurrounded by gardens: yet they are but meanly built, and make a poor figure, tho' they ſerve as a contraſt to the palace, which is the only ſtone edifice in the place, and has a very magnificent appearance. As for the ſoil, it is extremely fertile, and abounds with all the neceſſaries, and even conveniences of life.

Gama, having repoſed himſelf three days, had a ſecond audience of the zamorin, to whom he delivered the letter and preſents he had brought from Emmanuel: the firſt was received with great reſpect; but the admiral perceiving the king looked at the preſents with contempt, told his majeſty, that he ought not to be ſurpriſed if they did not ſeem ſuitable to his dignity, for Emmanuel could not foreſee the ſucceſs of the voyage; and, after all, he could not have brought a more valuable preſent than the friendſhip of his royal maſter, who was deſirous of eſtabliſhing a trade, which would greatly redound to the advantage of Calicut. He likewiſe, after Monzaida had explained the letter, deſired his majeſty would not communicate the contents to the Arabians, who, he underſtood from the moor, were his profeſſed enemies; and the zamorin diſmiſſed him with a friendly caution, to beware of theſe perfidious men. Nor was this advice unneceſſary or unreaſonable; for thoſe merchants, partly through pique to the Chriſtian name, and partly from the proſpect of ſeeing their trade and profits diminiſhed by the interloping Portugueſe, ſpared no pains to render them odious and ſuſpected. After having prepoſſeſſed the miniſtry, by dint of bribes, they repreſented Gama as a bloody pyrate, who had behaved in an outrageous manner in every place at which he had touched in the proſecution of his voyage, and was come to Calicut in order to carry on his hoſtile intentions, under the cloak of a treaty, which was

no

no other than a meer pretence. By theſe means they ſecured the intereſt of the catual, who filled the ears of his prince with falſe inſinuations to the prejudice of the ſtrangers, and at length obtained an audience for the Arabians, who went to the palace in a body, and, by the mouth of an orator, made a very vehement and artful remonſtrance, importing, that the Portugueſe were a cruel and perfidious people, inflamed with avarice and ambition; that they had, without the leaſt provocation, ravaged the whole coaſt of Africa, and made themſelves maſters of a great part of Æthiopia; that Gama himſelf had fallen upon Mozambique, made great ſlaughter at Mombaze, and taken ſeveral ſhips like a profeſſed pyrate; that the cargo he had brought was poor and inconſiderable, and the preſents ſuch as rather denoted the contempt than the regard of the ſender: that therefore his intereſt could never prompt him to prefer ſuch beggarly ſtrangers, and they too of ſuſpected morals, to his antient friends the Arabians, who had given ſuch repeated proofs of their fidelity, and from whoſe commerce the greateſt part of his revenue was derived: and, laſtly, that if, notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations, he was reſolved to encourage the Portugueſe, they for their parts would immediately withdraw themſelves into other countries where they could ſettle to more advantage.

This declaration, ſupported by the ſlander and advice of the catual, made an impreſſion upon the mind of the zamorin, who was naturally fickle and irreſolute; and Gama, being appriſed of a deſign againſt his life, reſolved to return to his ſhips with all poſſible expedition. For this purpoſe he retired before break of day, but was overtaken at Pandarene by the catual, who, tho' ſtill under the maſk of friendſhip, told him, that before the king could grant his requeſt, it would be neceſſary for him to re-

turn, and acquit himſelf of ſome imputations touching the deſign of his voyage, and in the mean time to bring the ſhips nearer the ſhore, and deliver up their ſails and rudders as pledges of his fidelity. Gama replied with great ſpirit, that he would ſooner forfeit his life than act ſo much beneath the dignity of his character; and ſent a letter to his brother, repeating his injunctions to ſail homewards, provided he ſhould be detained. Two days being ſpent in fruitleſs altercation, it was at length agreed, that the Portugueſe goods ſhould be landed, with ſome men to take charge of the warehouſe, and then Gama was allowed to go on board of his ſhip, from whence he wrote a letter, complaining of the catual's treachery; and the zamorin promiſed to inquire into his conduct, and, if he ſhould be found guilty, to puniſh him according to his demerits. Mean while, he adviſed the admiral to ſend his goods to Calicut, where they might be ſold to great advantage; and, in conſequence of this advice, they were conveyed to that city at the king's expence. The ſhips were moved nearer the city, and ſeveral Portugueſe allowed to go on ſhore every day, in order to view the country, and make obſervations on the temper and genius of the inhabitants. Gama took all poſſible methods to promote peace and amity; and, by another letter to the zamorin, propoſed that a perſon ſhould be left at Calicut to tranſact the affairs of his Portugueſe majeſty. To this meſſage, which in all probability alarmed thoſe Indians, he received ſuch a ſurly and inſolent anſwer, that he reſolved to break off all manner of correſpondence with a prince of ſuch levity; and this neglect incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he ordered the goods to be ſeized, and the two Portugueſe factors to be thrown in priſon. Gama, having in vain demanded reparation for this outrage, reſolved to make repriſals by force of arms; and,

and, attacking the firſt ſhip that ſtood into the harbour, made priſoners of ſix naires, or noblemen, with nineteen ſervants; then ordered his own veſſels to ſet ſail, in hope that the king would be alarmed at his ſeeming departure, and reſtore the goods and men in exchange for the captives. The ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh; for no ſooner were his ſhips perceived to be under ſail, than the zamorin ſent a diſpatch on board of Gama, to tell him, he was ſurpriſed at his having made priſoners thoſe noblemen who had never given him the leaſt offence; and to aſſure him, upon his honour, that he would reſtore the goods, and releaſe the two Portugueſe, whom he detained for no other purpoſe, but that of carrying the letters which he intended to write to his brother Emmanuel. Induced by theſe promiſes, the admiral returned to his former ſtation; and, next day, the two Portugueſe came with letters for the king, together with an officer, who told him, in name of the zamorin, that he might leave a perſon at Calicut to manage the affairs of Portugal, and ſell the goods which he had not ſent on board, becauſe they might be ſold to great advantage. To this meſſage Gama replied, that he had altered his reſolution with reſpect to the reſident, and that, if the zamorin of Calicut wanted to ſee his ſubjects releaſed, he muſt ſend back the goods without delay. Next morning, Monzaida appeared before him in vaſt perturbation, and earneſtly begged he might be carried to Portugal, as the friendſhip he had manifeſted for the admiral rendered it impoſſible for him to live in ſafety at Calicut: he ſaid, the Arabians had raiſed great commotions in the city, and by various calumnies exaſperated the zamorin againſt the Portugueſe; and that he himſelf had eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. Gama took this man into his protection, and behaved towards him with great friendſhip and generoſity; and that

ſame day received his goods, which were ſent in ſeven boats: but by this time he was determined to carry his priſoners into Portugal; and therefore told the perſons by whom they were re-demanded, he had been deluded by ſo many low artifices, that he looked upon the people to be altogether void of faith and honour; that all the goods were not reſtored, and tho' he had not leiſure to inquire into the particulars that were wanting, he would not releaſe the priſoners, but conduct them to Portugal, as teſtimonies to convince Emmanuel of the inſults his admiral and ambaſſador had ſuffered from the zamorin of Calicut, at the inſtigation of the Arabian merchants. Having made this declaration, he ordered his cannon to be fired, that he might ſtrike terror into the hearts of theſe Calicutians, who immediately fled in the utmoſt conſternation.

Tho' the king was enraged at this preſumptuous behaviour, he was obliged to ſtifle his reſentment, becauſe all his ſhips were laid up at that ſeaſon of the year; but as contrary winds detained the Portugueſe for ſome time upon the coaſt, he fitted out twenty light ſhips, which were well furniſhed with men and arms, and ſent them againſt Gama. His hope, however, was baffled by a ſudden ſtorm that ſcattered his ſhips; and the Portugueſe, taking the opportunity of a favourable gale, ſoon loſt ſight of Calicut. Yet the admiral diſmiſſed one of the captives from the firſt port at which he touched, with a letter to the zamorin, in which he expatiated upon the ſnares which had been laid for his life by the Arabians: but, notwithſtanding theſe combinations, he ſaid, he ſtill retained the utmoſt regard for his majeſty, between whom, and the King of Portugal, he would labour with all his might to eſtabliſh ſuch a league as would redound to their mutual advantage; and as to the nobles who were his priſoners, he aſſured him upon his word and honour, that

they

they ſhould be treated with the higheſt reſpect, and ſent back to their native country. Having taken this ſtep, Gama, in his voyage homewards, ſteered towards the iſlands of Anchedive, and in his courſe thither was attacked by ſeven ſhips, belonging to a pirate named Timoia, a bold intrepid fellow, very much dreaded in thoſe ſeas. However, his veſſels were ſoon obliged to ſheer off; and one of them, loaded with proviſions, was taken by the Portugueſe. At one of the Anchedive iſlands, which are five in number, about four miles diſtant from the coaſt, the admiral touched, in order to refit his ſhips, which had been ſhattered by the violence of the weather; and among the multitude that crowded to the ſhore to view the ſtrangers, was the prime miniſter and confident of Zabaio, king of a neighbouring iſland called Goa, an able prince, of great power, courage, and ambition. This miniſter came to Gama, in his maſter's name, and, having paid his compliments in the Italian tongue, told the admiral, that Zabaio, having heard of his fame, was diſpoſed to do him all the ſervice in his power; and if he ſtood in need of proviſions, arms, or money, he might demand them with the greateſt freedom.

Gama was ſtruck with the graceful appearance of this perſon, and admired his fluency of language, as well as the quickneſs and facility with which he anſwered his interrogations. He ſaid, he was by birth an Italian; that he had been taken by pyrates in his youth, during a voyage to Greece with his parents, and, after having undergone a variety of misfortunes, and ſeen himſelf cut off from all hope of reviſiting his native country, he had been obliged to enter into the ſervice of a Mahometan prince. He, in his turn, aſked a number of queſtions, that ſeemed to denote an artful and uncommon curioſity; ſo that Gama began to ſuſpect him of being a ſpy, and was ſo ſtrongly influenced by

the conjecture, that he ordered him to be ſeized and put to the rack; an expedient which juſtified his ſuſpicion: for, by dint of torture, he was fain to confeſs, that he was by birth a Pole, and by religion a Jew; and that Zabaio, having a deſign to attack the Portugueſe ſhips, had ſent him on purpoſe to diſcover their ſtrength, and manner of fighting. The admiral, in conſequence of this confeſſion, ſet ſail immediately, detaining the Jew, who afterwards became a Chriſtian, under the appellation of Jaſper, and was very ſerviceable to Emmanuel on many occaſions: and the fleet, proceeding on the voyage homewards, was becalmed in ſuch a manner, that a long time elapſed before they reached the coaſt of Africa. Magadoxa, which was the firſt place they deſcried, being at that time inhabited by Arabians, Gama battered the city with his cannon, and ſunk or deſtroyed all the ſhips in the harbour: he was afterwards attacked by eight Arabian ſhips, which he defeated, and would have taken, had there been wind enough to manage his ſails; and at length arrived in the amicable port of Melinda, where he again met with a moſt friendly reception, and was ſupplied with refreſhments for his men, who were quite exhauſted by ſickneſs and fatigue. Being afraid of finding difficulty in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, ſhould the ſeaſon be advanced, he ſailed from hence, after a ſtay of five days only, carrying along with him an ambaſſador from the king of Melinda to Emmanuel; and, as he had not a ſufficient number of men left to navigate three ſhips, he ordered that which his brother commanded to be burnt, becauſe ſhe was crazy and leaky, and divided the crew between himſelf and Nicholas Cœlo.

On the 27th day of February he reached the iſland of Zanzibar, about eight leagues from the continent, where he found plenty of cattle feeding on

on a rich and fertile ſoil, abounding with ſprings of excellent water, and covered with delightful woods, interſperſed with wild citrons, which diffuſed the moſt agreeable odour. The prince of this iſland, tho' a Mahometan, having entertained the Portugueſe with great hoſpitality, and furniſhed his ſhips with a ſupply of fruit and freſh proviſions, Gama ſailed from thence along the coaſt, and, paſſing Mozambique, took in wood and water, with ſome proviſions, at St. Blas; but the wind would not permit him to touch at the places where he had left the exiles. On the 26th day of April he doubled the Cape, from whence he ſailed to the iſland of St. Jago, where the two ſhips being ſeparated by a violent ſtorm, Nicholas Cœlo ſteered directly for Liſbon; but Gama was obliged to put in at the iſland of Tercera, on account of his brother, who for a long time had languiſhed in a ſickly condition, and was now ſo ill, that he could not bear the motion of the ſhip: he accordingly ended his days in this p'ace; and the admiral, having performed his obſequies with all poſſible decency, proceeded on his voyage to Liſbon, at which he arrived in the year 1499; tho' Cælo had been before-hand with him, and given a full detail of the voyage to his Portugueſe majeſty, who received them with equal joy and ſurprize, and diſtinguiſhed both commanders with marks of peculiar favour.

The Voyage of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral.

EMMANUEL king of Portugal, encouraged by the ſucceſs of Gama, reſolved to proſecute his diſcoveries, and ſettle a trade with India; and, for that purpoſe, equipped a fleet of thirteen ſhips, furniſhed with fifteen hundred men, and all manner of warlike ſtores, and beſtowed the command of it upon Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, a perſon in whoſe courage and abilities he repoſed the moſt unbounded confidence. This admiral was directed to effect, if poſſible, a treaty of commerce with the zamorin of Calicut, and obtain permiſſion from him to build a fort near the city, for the ſecurity of the Portugueſe; but, in caſe that prince ſhould prove averſe to ſuch intercourſe, and ill-diſpoſed towards the Chriſtians, to declare war, and treat him as an enemy. He was likewiſe ordered to wait upon the king of Melinda, with Emmanuel's acknowledgments of his hoſpitality, to teſtify that his embaſſy was extremely acceptable, and that the king of Portugal would do every thing in his power to cultivate the friendſhip of ſuch an amiable prince. On board of the fleet were five Franciſcan friars, of diſtinguiſhed piety and zeal for religion, who undertook the voyage with a view to make converts, and perform divine ſervice to the Portugueſe who ſhould ſettle at Calicut, in caſe matters ſhould be amicably determined with the zamorin.

Thus

Thus inſtructed and provided, Cabral ſet ſail on the 8th day of March, in the year 1500, and having paſſed the iſland of St. Jago, met with ſuch a furious tempeſt as ſcattered the whole fleet, ſo that one ſhip having loſt almoſt all her rigging, was driven back to Liſbon; and Cabral, after the ſtorm abated, having waited for her two days, proceeded on his voyage, ſteering to the weſtward. On the 24th day of April, one of the ſeamen deſcried land, to the inexpreſſible joy and ſurpriſe of the admiral, who never dreamed of making ſuch a diſcovery; and who, having approached the coaſt, ſent his maſter on ſhore in a boat, to examine its nature and ſituation. He ſoon returned with a favourable account of the country, which was clothed with a beautiful verdure, ſhaded by tall trees, abounding with excellent water, and inhabited by naked people, of a duſky olive hue, with long lank hair as black as jet.

This account was afterwards confirmed by ſeveral officers, who went aſhore to make obſervations; but, in the midſt of their joy, they were overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, that drove the ſhips from their anchors, and toſſed them for a conſiderable time along the coaſt; until at length they found a very ſafe and commodious harbour, which the admiral named Porto Seguro. Here alſo Cabral ſent on ſhore ſome officers to reconnoitre, and they returned with two fiſhermen whom they had taken in a canoe; but they were ſo ſlow of apprehenſion, that the Portugueſe, by all the ſigns they could contrive, found it impoſſible to make them underſtand their meaning. However, Cabral ordered them to be clothed, and preſented with ſome ſmall bells, braſs rings, and looking-glaſſes, and then to be ſet on ſhore. They were extremely pleaſed with theſe bawbles, which they ſhewed in an oſtentatious manner to their countrymen, who, al'ured

allured by ſuch trifles, flocked in great numbers to the fleet, with fruits and proviſions, which they bartered for things of little or no value: in a word, the ſhips and the dreſs of the Portugueſe, together with almoſt every thing they beheld, filled them with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment.

Cabral himſelf, going aſhore, ordered an altar to be erected, under the ſhade of a large tree, where ſervice was performed in preſence of the natives, who liſtened with ſilent admiration, and by their geſtures ſeemed to expreſs a deep ſenſe of religion. In his return to the fleet, they followed him in a tranſport of joy, ſinging aloud, blowing a kind of trumpets, throwing arrows into the air, and with uplifted hands ſeeming to thank heaven, for the arrival of ſuch a godlike people. Some of them ran into the ſea and ſwam after his barge, others attended him in canoes, and could hardly be prevailed upon to return.

While he lay at anchor in this place, taking in a ſupply of water and proviſions, his people were ſurpriſed with the appearance of a ſtrange fiſh that was caſt on ſhore: it was as thick as a large hogſhead, and about twice as long; its head and eyes reſembled thoſe of an hog; its ears were not unlike the elephant's; but it had no teeth: the ſkin was about an inch thick, covered all over with briſtles, and the tail about five feet in length.

The admiral having erected a marble pillar, in commemoration of the diſcovery, called the country Santa Cruz, tho' it afterwards acquired the name of Braſil; and diſpatched one of his officers, called Jaſper Læmio, to Portugal, with an account of its nature and ſituation.

Braſil, which lies on the ſouth of the line, is very extenſive, and in ſome parts almoſt adjoining to Peru: it is a fertile and pleaſant country, and ſo healthy, that the natives ſeldom die of any other diſtem-

diſtemper than old age. It is watered by many large rivers, and a vaſt number of delightful ſtreams: the plains are large and ſpacious, affording excellent paſturage; the harbours are extremely commodious and eaſy of acceſs; and the whole country affords a moſt beautiful proſpect, diverſified with hill and dale, ſhaded by thick woods, on which are many trees fraught with medicinal virtues. All the natives ſeem beardleſs, becauſe they carefully pluck the hairs from their faces, with an inſtrument made for that purpoſe. They are ſtrangers to letters and religion, bound by no laws, and ruled by no particular government; but when engaged in war, they chuſe him for their general, whom they know to be the braveſt and moſt expert in martial affairs. The people in general wear no cloaths, tho' the nobility are covered from the waiſt to the knees, with ſkins of parrots, and other birds of various plumage: their heads are alſo adorned with caps, made of the ſame kind of feathers. The women comb and dreſs their hair with a good deal of nicety, while the men are ſhaved from the forehead to the crown. Thoſe who affect the ornaments of dreſs have holes in their ears, noſtrils, lips, and other parts of the body, decorated with precious ſtones of various colours; and the women adorn themſelves with little ſhells, upon which they put a very great value. In war the Braſilians uſe bows, with which they ſhoot ſo dextrouſly, that they very ſeldom miſs their aim; and their arrows are pointed with fiſh-bone that will penetrate the thickeſt boards. They live chiefly by hunting, and feed occaſionally upon monkeys, lizzards, ſnakes, and mice. The boats they uſe are made of the bark of trees, large enough to contain thirty men, each, and while ſome row the veſſel, others beat the water, in order to frighten the fiſh, which being thus alarmed, ſwim up to the ſurface, and are caught in large calibaſhes,

diſpoſed

diſpoſed in a certain manner upon the ſurface for this purpoſe. They ſow no corn, but make their bread of a certain root, which is poiſonous, if eaten before it is duly prepared by being ſqueezed and dried in the ſun, and from this alſo they diſtil a kind of liquor, by which they are intoxicated even to a degree of frenzy. They are great obſervers of omens, and deal much in ſorcery, which is practiſed by a certain ſet of men whom they hold in high veneration, and conſult on all emergencies. Theſe wizzards generally carry an arrow, to the end of which is fixed a calibaſh cut into the ſhape of a man's head: within this gourd they kindle the leaves of a certain plant, and ſnuff up the ſmoke, which is very intoxicating, until they begin to reel, gnaſh their teeth, foam at the mouth, roll their eyes, and twiſt themſelves into various contorſions, which the ſpectators imagine are the effects of divine inſpiration: during theſe tranſports, they utter an unconnected jargon, which is reckoned an oracle: they are every where attended by crowds, who teſtify their reſpect by loud acclamations, muſic, and dancing; and the moſt beautiful women, married and unmarried, are given up to their poſſeſſion.

In this country, the huſbands may, for any ſlight cauſe, repudiate their wives, and, if they ſhould be found guilty of adultery, have a right to kill or ſell them as ſlaves. The natives in general are lazy and ſlothful, and ſpend the greateſt part of their time in feaſting, ſinging and dancing to an immoderate degree. In their dances they form a ring, tho' every individual remains in the ſame place, beating the ground with a ſort of tranſport, according to the variation of the ſong, which is rude and inharmonious, compoſed in honour of their own exploits, and military courage; and while one ſet is thus engaged in dancing, another is employed in ſupplying them

them with liquor, which they ſwallow until they drop down in a ſtate of brutal inſenſibility.

They live in huts made of wood, thatched with reeds, and ſurrounded with a double or triple row of paliſadoes, and ſeveral families dwell under one roof, connected by a kind of ſacred tie: for they will with pleaſure ſacrifice their lives in defence of one another. They never engage in war with a view to enlarge their territories, but to maintain their dignity, when they think it is impaired by any injury or affront: in ſuch caſes they chuſe a council of ſeniors to eſtimate and regulate the expence and preparations of the war, and then elect a general, who viſits every houſe, and in ſet harangues encourages and animates the men to deeds of glory. Beſides their bows and arrows, they uſe ſwords made of a very hard wood, with which they cut and maim their enemies in a terrible manner; and they carry on war by ſtratagem rather than open force. Part of the priſoners they immediately eat, and the reſt, being reſerved for feſtivals, are in the mean time indulged with plenty of proviſion, and even furniſhed with women for their pleaſure; but when the fatal day of rejoicing comes, the plumpeſt of theſe miſerable wretches is brought forth in fetters, and his miſtreſs, as a mark of affection, ties about his neck the rope by which he is led to ſacrifice. Then, being faſtened to a pillar, he is painted with a variety of colours, and adorned with feathers, and between whiles looſened, and cheared with plenty of victuals and liquor, while the people feaſt in public, dance, drink and ſing for three days ſucceſſively; on the fourth, the captive's arms and legs are untied, and, with ropes round his waiſt, the women and boys pull him along towards a cave, while others pelt him with oranges, which he picks up and throws at them in his turn, with all the appearance of unconcern, and even of mirth; and when the ſpectators inſult him with abuſive language,

declaring

declaring that now he will ſuffer the puniſhment due to his crimes, and be killed, cut in pieces, and eaten; he replies, with an undaunted air, that as he has always lived, ſo will he die, like a brave man, in defiance of all their tortures; if they kill him, he has likewiſe ſlain many of their countrymen; tho' they may glut themſelves with his fleſh, he is ſatisfied with reflecting, that he has been often regaled upon the mangled bodies of thoſe who were the friends and relations of his murderers; and that he has brothers, companions, and kindred, who will revenge his death. When he arrives at the cave, the perſon by whom he had been kept in cuſtody, having painted his body, and adorned his neck with feathers, enters with a ſword, which he brandiſhes over the victim's head, dancing, ſinging, or whiſtling all the while. The captive, in the mean time, attempts to catch the weapon, but is prevented by the boys and women, who pull different ways ſo as to confine him to the ſpot where he ſtands; in this ſituation he continues until the executioner ſtuns him with ſeveral blows, after which he cleaves his ſkull with one ſtroke, and cuts off his hands: this amputation being performed, the women throw the body on a fire of wood, where it lies until all the hair is ſcorched off; then opening the belly, they take out the intrails, and the reſt of the carcaſs is divided into ſmall pieces, on which the barbarians feaſt with the utmoſt ſatisfaction.

The conſtant adverſaries of thoſe Braſilians, who live in huts, are another people of the ſame ſavage and brutal diſpoſition, inhabiting the woods and mountains, among whom no crime but murder is puniſhed; and when this is the caſe, the relations of the murderer are obliged to deliver him up to thoſe of the deceaſed, who put him to death; then the kindred of both join in performing the funeral rites over the two bodies, which they inter with mutual

mutual lamentation: but ſhould the aſſaſſin eſcape, his daughters, ſiſters, or ſome of his neareſt kinſwomen are delivered up as ſlaves to the kindred of the defunct; and thus the injury is atoned, and all reſentment buried in oblivion.

Such was the eſtate of Braſil when it was firſt diſcovered by Cabral, who took his departure from it on the 29th day of April; and in the beginning of the next month was ſurprized by a furious ſtorm, which ruſhed down ſo ſuddenly, that before the ſails could be handed, and other neceſſary precautions taken, four ſhips that ran foul of one another were daſhed in pieces, and every ſoul on board periſhed in ſight of their friends and companions, who could not give them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Notwithſtanding this dreadful diſaſter, the remaining ſeven proceeded on their courſe, and were again ſeparated by ſevere weather; but on the 27th day of July, ſix of them came in ſight of one another, the ſeventh having put back to Portugal, after the crew had been reduced to ſix men, by thirſt, hunger, and fatigue.

Cabral, having turned the Cape, deſcried a moſt pleaſant country, ſhaded with trees, abounding with cattle, and watered with excellent rivers; but the inhabitants refuſing to ſupply him with proviſions, or to enter into any ſort of intercourſe with the Portugueſe, he ſailed along the coaſt, until, coming in ſight of two iſlands oppoſite to the main land, he eſpied two ſhips at anchor; but the people on board of them no ſooner perceived his veſſels, than they ſlipped their cables, and crowded all their ſails to make their eſcape. Notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, they were ſoon taken by the admiral, who, underſtanding they belonged to one Fonteima, a prince of that country, related to the king of Melinda, generouſly diſmiſſed them, without having touched the gold and merchandiſe which they had brought from Zofala.

On

On the 24th day of July, he arrived at Mozambique, where he watered his ſhips without any obſtruction, and laid in a freſh ſtock of proviſions; and, having hired a pilot for Quiloa, proceeded on his voyage, in ſight of ſeveral beautiful and well cultivated iſlands, ſubject to the king of that country, whoſe dominions on this coaſt are two hundred miles in extent. He and all his people are Mahometans, tho' ſome are quite black, and others of a tawney colour: they ſpeak Arabick and ſeveral other languages, which they learn from the different nations that trade among them: their dreſs reſembles that of the Turks and Arabians, and they live with elegance and taſte. Quiloa is about four hundred miles diſtant from Mozambique, divided from the continent by an arm of the ſea. The iſland is ſtocked with plants and trees, watered with refreſhing ſprings, and abounds with tame cattle as well as with wild beaſts, which afford the diverſion of hunting. The ſoil is very fruitful, the city large and populous; the houſes are magnificently built and elegantly furniſhed; and their ſhips, which reſemble thoſe of Mozambique, laid over with a ſort of frankincenſe inſtead of pitch.

Cabral, having come to an anchor in this port, ſent a meſſage to the king, whoſe name was Abraham, importing that he had letters for him, containing proffers of friendſhip and alliance from his Portugueſe majeſty; and that, as he himſelf was reſtricted from going aſhore, by the expreſs orders of his royal maſter, he hoped his majeſty would be ſo indulgent as to gratify him with an audience upon the water. The king received his meſſengers in the moſt friendly manner, and immediately ſent one of his domeſtics to the admiral, with preſents, and a promiſe that he would next day give him a meeting according to his deſire. Accordingly he appeared upon the water, in a veſſel richly adorned;

ed; his attendants were clad in purple embroidery, ſilk, and fine cotton, and armed with ſwords and daggers, the handles of which were ſet with diamonds; while the harbour reſounded with the joyous muſic of flutes and trumpets. Cabral, on the other hand, ſaluted him with the ſound of cannon, and ordering all his officers, who were dreſſed in the moſt elegant manner, to attend him in their boats, he put off in his own barge, and was rowed up to the king's galley. There he ſaluted his majeſty with great reſpect, delivered Emmanuel's letters, written in the Arabian language, and communicated the particulars of his embaſſy, which were joyfully received by the king, who ſaid he ſhould henceforth conſider Emmanuel as his brother, and at all times ſtudy to advance his honour and promote his intereſt. It was likewiſe agreed, that Cabral ſhould next day ſend on ſhore a perſon to confirm this friendſhip by a ſolemn league, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a laſting and advantageous alliance, when this favourable diſpoſition was deſtroyed by the malicious and artful inſinuations of the Arabians, who, actuated by jealouſy and pique, repreſented the Portugueſe as blood-thirſty pyrates, who under the cloak of friendſhip, would ſtrip the king of all his poſſeſſions, and ravage his whole country with the utmoſt cruelty and avarice. Theſe miſchievous calumnies had ſuch an effect upon the king, that he not only laid aſide all thoughts of engaging in a league with the Portugueſe, but he conceived a rooted averſion to them, ordered the garriſon to be immediately reinforced, and began to put the city in a poſture of defence. Theſe particulars being communicated to Cabral by the king of Melinda's brother, who happened to be at Quiloa, he reſolved to waſte no more time in this place, and ſet ſail for Melinda, where his arrival gave inexpreſſible

preſſible joy to the people and their ſovereign, who inſtantly provided refreſhments for the whole fleet.

The admiral, having come to an anchor, ſent aſhore the ambaſſador whom Gama had carried to Portugal, and along with him ſome of his own people, with valuable preſents to the king from Emmanuel; with which his majeſty was ſo well pleaſed that he next day appeared in public, mounted on a fine horſe richly capariſoned, which among other things was ſent by the king of Portugal: in this manner he proceeded to the ſea-ſide, where Cabral and all his officers waited for him in their boats, and were received by him in the moſt courteous and cordial manner. The admiral, however, notwithſtanding his preſſing ſolicitations, made but a very ſhort ſtay in this place; but left two exiles, with directions to travel, if poſſible, into that part of Æthiopia which lyes above Ægypt, where Emmanuel had heard there was a Chriſtian prince, and to inform themſelves of the manners and cuſtoms of his people.

The fleet weighed from Melinda on the 7th day of Auguſt, and, croſſing the Indian ſea with a fair wind, they on the 22d reached the iſlands of Anchediva, where the admiral ſtay'd a few days to refreſh his men: from thence he ſteered for Calicut, where he arrived on the 30th, and the zamorin was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he diſpatched two of his naires or noblemen, and a conſiderable merchant who was a native of Cambaya, to ſalute Cabral in his name. Theſe were treated with the utmoſt reſpect by the admiral, who ſent aſhore with them John Sala, a gentleman who had accompanied Gama, and Jaſper Gama, who had been formerly in the ſervice of Zabaio, but having embraced the Chriſtian faith, was now known by the ſirname of his patron: together with theſe, went four of the Indian noblemen who had been

carried

carried to Portugal, and the ſight of them dreſſed in the Portugueſe faſhion, now yielded the zamorin infinite pleaſure.

Reſolving to give audience to Cabral in one of his royal ſeats near the ſea-ſhore, he went thither in grand proceſſion, with a number of his nobles, preceded by the ſound of gold and ſilver trumpets; and the admiral put off in his barge, attended by ſeveral officers, after having left the command in his abſence to Sancius Thoares. On landing, he was received by a body of the nobles, who had provided a ſedan in which he was conveyed to the palace, a magnificent ſtructure, adorned on the inſide with ſilk embroidered tapeſtry. Here Cabral having paid his compliments to the zamorin, who was clad in rich attire ſparkling with diamonds; he was ſeated by him in a ſilver chair, and Emmanuel's letters being read and interpreted by Jaſper, the zamorin made the warmeſt proteſtations of friendſhip, granted to all the Portugueſe the liberty of a free trade in his dominions, and aſſured them of his protection. He, moreover, aſſigned to them a large houſe near the ſhore, for the uſe and convenience of thoſe who might be left to tranſact the affairs of Emmanuel; and, as a confirmation of this grant, ordered it to be recorded on a golden plate: he likewiſe directed that a ſtandard with the arms of Emmanuel ſhould be fixed on the top of the building, as a teſtimony of its being appropriated to the uſe of his Portugueſe majeſty.

During theſe tranſactions, he was informed that a large ſhip, having on board an elephant, had ſet ſail from Colchin to invade the kingdom of Cambaya, and, in conſequence of this intelligence, he conjured Cabral to attack this hoſtile veſſel; and that he might have a particular account of the behaviour of the Portugueſe, he ſent ſome of his domeſticks to obſerve the engagement. For this ſer-

vice, the admiral allotted one ſmall ſhip commanded by Pedro Ataide, aſſiſted by three able officers, whoſe names were Duarte Pacheco, Vaſco Sylveria and John Sola; and when the zamorin ſaw how light Cabral made of the matter, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and waited the event with the utmoſt impatience. The Portugueſe were ſcarcely prepared for the battle, when the ſhip appeared; however, they immediately bore down upon her, without going ſo near as to give the enemy an opportunity to avail themſelves of their darts and the ſuperior number of their men, and continued plying her with the great guns, until, ſeeing a great many of their people killed, they began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight: accordingly ſhe, by favour of the night, entered the harbour of Cananor, forty miles north of Calicut, where four Arabian veſſels lay at anchor; but, finding they were purſued by the Portugueſe, they put to ſea again, and, the engagement being renewed, they were thrown into ſuch conſternation, that they ſuffered themſelves to be driven into the harbour of Calicut, to the amazement of the zamorin, who, having heard from his people with what intrepidity the Portugueſe behaved in the battle, deſired to ſee the individuals, on whom he beſtowed the moſt laviſh encomiums and ſome valuable preſents, tho' the perſon whom he moſt diſtinguiſhed was Duarto Pacheco, the moſt gallant gentleman of the age in which he lived.

This atchievement, while it raiſed the reputation of the Chriſtians excited the envy of the Arabians, who not only renewed their private batteries, infuſing a thouſand groundleſs ſuſpicions into the mind of the zamorin; but alſo bought up all the ſpices at extravagant rates, rather than the Portugueſe ſhould complete their cargoes. Nay, theſe proceedings were connived at by the king, whoſe honour

honour and ſincerity Cabral had already begun to doubt, becauſe ſome of the hoſtages on board, having ſwam aſhore, he had forbore making reſtitution, or giving any ſatisfaction on that head. He therefore ſent an officer to complain of theſe injuries, and repreſent to the zamorin, how he had engaged his honour, that the Portugueſe ſhips ſhould be loaded within twenty days, whereas three months were already elapſed, and their cargoes ſtill incomplete, while the Arabian ſhips were ſupplied with great facility and expedition, contrary to the treaty by which it was ſtipulated that no nation ſhould be allowed to purchaſe any quantity of ſpices before the Portugueſe had received their full cargo. Upon this remonſtrance, he pretended to be highly offended at the behaviour of the Arabians, and deſired that Cabral would do himſelf juſtice by unloading their veſſels, and putting the cargoes on board of his own ſhips, for which he ſhould pay no more than the juſt value to the merchants.

This permiſſion the admiral conſidered as a ſnare, in conſequence of which the Arabians might be ſo incenſed as to fall upon and deſtroy the Portugueſe who were aſhore; and howſoever fatal the event might be, he knew the zamorin could eaſily clear himſelf, by throwing the blame upon the Chriſtians, as the aggreſſors and beginners of the diſturbance. He therefore debated with himſelf about the reſolution he ſhould take on this occaſion, when Ayres Correa, who was left on ſhore as chief agent, preſſed him by letters to make uſe of the liberty granted by the zamorin, and, finding him ſtill backward, conjured him to act with ſpirit for the intereſt and honour of Emmanuel, in ſuch ſtimulating remonſtrances and proteſts, that Cabral ſeeing his courage called in queſtion, reſolved to do ſomething that would acquit his character of that imputation: perceiving an Arabian ſhip ready to

put to sea, he sent a person to tell the captain that he must not depart without his permission, and the Arabian paying no regard to his order, he commanded his officers to mann and arm the boats and tow the vessel back into the harbour. The owner who was a man of great wealth and influence at Calicut, being enraged at this outrage, assembled all his friends and adherents, and, going in a body to the king, complained of the insult, and demanded redress against those audacious pyrates, who presumed to act in contempt of his majesty's authority. To this representation, the zamorin made such a reply as gave him to understand that he should not be displeased at any plan of revenge they should execute; and, thus assured, they with several naires and their followers, amounting to four hundred, repaired in a riotous manner to the Portuguese house, threatening destruction to Correa, who immediately made a signal of distress to the fleet, and in the mean time put himself in a posture of defence, tho' the number of his men did not exceed seventy. The admiral, being ill of an ague, sent Sancius Tobaris with a detachment in the long boats to assist their companions, and if possible bring them safe on board; but, before they could land, the Arabians had forced open the gate, broke down part of the walls, poured in successive showers of arrows, and at last entered sword in hand to destroy Correa and his people, who, seeing their deaths inevitable, made a most furious resistance, and shed abundance of blood, until they were overpowered by numbers, and their leader slain. Fifty were killed upon the spot, and the remaining twenty forced their way to the sea-side, and were taken on board, where, however, the greatest part of them died of their wounds. Correa's son Antonio, a boy about ten years of age, was conveyed to the shore by Nunnez Leitan, a dragoon, who defend-

ed

ed him with incredible valour, but, in ſpite of all his efforts, the child muſt have periſhed, becauſe there was no boat near the place, had not a ſailor taken him on his ſhoulders and ſwam with him on board, at the hazard of his own life; and this boy afterwards ſignalized himſelf by many brave and gallant atchievements.

Cabral was extremely afflicted at this maſſacre, which happened on the 17th day of December; and, being enraged againſt the zamorin, who took no notice of the event, nor any ſtep to vindicate his own character, he called a council of his officers, in which it was reſolved, to revenge the murder of their countrymen; and, in conſequence of this determination, they attacked ten large Arabian veſſels in the harbour. The battle was maintained for ſome time with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but, at laſt, the Portugueſe boarded them, and killed above ſix hundred of the enemy. Being in want of hands, the admiral reinforced his complement with the priſoners, and finding three elephants in the prizes, killed and ſalted them for proviſion, which began to be ſcarce: then the Arabian ſhips, being plundered, were ſet on fire; and the flames alarmed and terrified the inhabitants of Calicut to ſuch a degree, that they ran up and down in the utmoſt diſtraction, howling, and uttering the moſt dreadful imprecations; but, they were not ſo quit of their fears: for, next day Cabral, bringing his guns to bear upon the town, demoliſhed many public as well as private buildings, and made great havock among the people; in ſo much that the zamorin was ſtruck with a pannick, and betook himſelf to flight, after having ſeen one of his deareſt friends laid dead at his feet by a cannon-ball.

The maſſacre of the Portugueſe being thus revenged, the admiral ſailed for Cochin, about ſe-

venty miles to the ſouthward of Calicut: the city is incircled by the windings of a river, and there is a capacious harbour, where ſhips may ride in ſafety. Tho' the ſoil is barren, the country yields an agreeable proſpect, becauſe it is ſhaded by a great number of trees, and affords plenty of pepper; and as for the people, they nearly reſemble the Calicutians. Cabral having heard that the king was well diſpoſed towards the Portugueſe, no ſooner arrived, than he ſent an Indian to his majeſty, to deſire that he might be furniſhed with ſpices and other commodities at a reaſonable rate. This meſſenger, whoſe name was Michael, had been one of that religious ſect whom the Indians call Togues: theſe devotees affect an utter contempt of all wordly things, and live by begging; they frequent markets and public places, where they preach up their particular tenets with great zeal and vehemence; but, in general, they are cheats who impoſe upon the people, for ſelfiſh views, under the cloak of ſimplicity and religion. Michael, however, was an exception to that general rule; for, he poſſeſſed an honeſt heart that abhorred ſuch deceit, and accordingly became a ſincere convert to the Chriſtian faith. On this occaſion, he returned with a very civil and polite anſwer from the king, who expreſſed his joy at the arrival of the Portugueſe, and chearfully promiſed to ſupply them with every thing they wanted. Articles of friendſhip were immediately ſettled, and the admiral ſent ſome perſons aſhore to preſent him with ſome ſilver plate, and purchaſe a quantity of ſpices: theſe he received in a very hoſpitable manner, and lodged in a ſtrong large houſe, where they reſided until their buſineſs was finiſhed, under the protection of ſeveral naires appointed for that purpoſe.

During

During theſe tranſactions, Cabral received invitations from the kings of Cananor and Coulam, to come and trade in their ports; but, as he had already engaged to take his goods from the king of Cochin, he thanked them for their kind intention, and excuſed himſelf on account of his previous contract; promiſing, however, to trade with them in caſe he ſhould not be able to complete his cargo at Cochin. At the ſame time, he was viſited by two Indian Chriſtians from the city of Cranganor, who having been inſtructed in the goſpel, which is ſaid to have been propagated in thoſe parts by St. Thomas, intreated Cabral to carry them to Portugal, from whence they might travel to Rome and Jeruſalem, which they fervently longed to ſee; and the admiral granted their requeſt without heſitation.

The ſhips had already taken in their cargoes, when the king received information that the zamorin of Calicut had equipped a fleet of twenty large ſhips, beſides a great number of ſmall veſſels, on board of which were fifteen thouſand ſoldiers, in order to revenge the loſs and inſult he had ſuſtained in his capital: and this intelligence being communicated to Cabral, he prepared his ſhips for an engagement, and ſailed directly to meet the enemy; but, a contrary wind hindered him from falling in with them, and they ſeeing with what reſolution he endeavoured to engage, were ſeized with conſternation, and declined the action: ſo that, without further obſtruction, he ſet out on his return to Portugal, having left Gonzalo, Barboſa, and Laurence Morena, with ſome others to manage the affairs of Emmanuel at Cochin. When he came upon the coaſt of Cananor, he received another invitation from the king, in conſequence of which he entered the port of that city, which is large

and ſpacious, ſituated in a bay, and forming a moſt commodious harbour. The country abounds with all the neceſſaries of life. The reigning king was rich and liberal, and as to his government and way of life, differing but little from the reſt of the princes in Malabar. Here the admiral purchaſed ſome cinnamon and ginger, but ſo little in quantity, that the king, upon the ſuppoſition of his having been robbed at Calicut, ſent him a meſſage importing that his purſe was at the ſervice of Cabral, and begged he would uſe it as freely as if it belonged to Emmanuel. The admiral thanked his majeſty for his generous offer, which however he declined, after having ſhewn to the meſſenger a round ſum of money, to convince him that he ſtood in no need of ſuch aſſiſtance, and that he forbore making a larger purchaſe, becauſe the ſhips were already loaded.

On the 16th day of January, he ſailed from this place, having taken on board an embaſſador to Emmanuel; and, being a little way ſhort of Melinda, took a very rich ſhip, which he diſmiſſed as ſoon as he underſtood ſhe belonged to an Arabian merchant of the kingdom of Cambaya, telling the commander, that Emmanuel was at war with none in India but the zamorin of Calicut and the Arabians of Mecca, from whom he had received the moſt flagrant indignities. Soon after this incident, the fleet was overtaken by a terrible ſtorm, by which the ſhip of Sancius Tovar was driven upon a bank, where, after the crew and cargo were taken out, ſhe was burnt by the admiral's order, that ſhe might be of no ſervice to the enemy: but, notwithſtanding this precaution, the king of Mombaze found means to recover the cannon. Cabral intended to have touched at Melinda, but, as the wind did not favour his deſign, he continued his courſe

courſe towards Mozambique, where he repaired and victualed his fleet. Then he beſtowed the command of another ſhip upon Tovar, whom he ſent to examine the coaſt of Zofala, while he himſelf proceeded with the reſt to Portugal; and, after having ſuffered much ſevere weather, arrived at Lisbon on the 31ſt day of July, in the year 1501.


HERNAN
CORTES

The Conqueſt of Mexico, by Hernando Cortes.

CHAP. I.

Diego de Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, equips a fleet which ſails upon diſcoveries, under the command of Juan de Grijalva. He diſcovers the iſland of Cozumel; makes the land of Yucatan; enters the river Tabaſco; trades with the Indians; proceeds to the river of Canoes, where he is attacked by the natives, who are defeated, and returns to Cuba.

THE conqueſt of Mexico is a tranſaction of ſuch importance, and abounds with ſuch entertaining incidents, that it would be altogether ſuperfluous to uſher it in with any recommendation to the reader.

Several authors have writ an account of this expedition; but, as the learned Antonio de Solis has taken great pains to collate and compare the different details, and conſult original papers, which enabled him to ſolve and remove divers doubts and difficulties, and account for ſome contradictions that occur in the various hiſtories of this memorable event, we have determined to follow him, not only as the moſt authentic hiſtorian, but likewiſe as the moſt elegant writer on the ſubject.

In the year 1517, which was that in which Charles V. took poſſeſſion of Spain, the conqueſts and ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, belonging to that kingdom, were limited to the iſlands of Hiſpaniola, St. Juan de Puerto-rico, Cuba and Jamaica, with a ſmall part of the Terra-firma in the province of Darien, at the entrance of the gulph of Uraka. The iſland of Cuba was at that time governed by Diego Velaſquez, who going thither as lieutenant to Don Diego Colon, ſecond admiral of the Indies, had conquered the natives, and made very conſiderable ſettlements. The province of Yucatan upon the continent, had been diſcovered by Franciſco Fernandez de Cordova, who, with the greateſt part of his followers, was killed by the Indians of that country: nevertheleſs, thoſe who returned to Cuba magnified the fertility and wealth of this new continent, and, by ſhewing ſome toys of gold which they had brought from thence, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of curioſity and hope, as diffuſed itſelf through all ranks of people, and even inſpired the governor with the ambition of increaſing his fortune, and rendering himſelf independent of Colon, whoſe ſuperiority, tho' almoſt entirely nominal, he could not bear without repining.

With theſe ſentiments, he reſolved to renew the attempt of a diſcovery; ſoldiers were inliſted, and three veſſels fitted out, under the command of his own relation Juan de Grijalva, aſſiſted by the advice and ſervice of Pedro de Alvarado, Franciſco de Montexo and Alonzo Davila, men diſtinguiſhed for their valour, humanity and diſcretion. On the 8th day of April 1518, they ſet ſail from Cuba, diſcovered the iſland of Cozumel, where they refreſhed themſelves without meeting with oppoſition from the natives, in a few days made the land of Yucatan, and, doubling the point of Cotoche, coaſted

coaſted along weſterly, until they arrived at Potonchan or Champoton, where Franciſco Fernandez was routed and killed. Here they landed to revenge his death, and having vanquiſhed the Indians, returned on board in order to proſecute their diſcovery. Sailing ſtill weſterly along ſhore, they deſcried ſeveral towns, conſiſting of ſtone-buildings, and one of the ſoldiers obſerving that the country reſembled Spain, the hearers reliſhed the compariſon ſo well, that from thence forward this continent adopted the name of New Spain.

In following this courſe, they arrived at the place where the river Tobaſco diſcharges itſelf by two mouths, into the gulph of Mexico, and Juan de Grijalva, who gave his name to the river, finding the ſtream was ſhallow, embarked all his ſoldiers on board of the two ſmalleſt veſſels, in order to ſail up, leaving the other two at anchor in the entrance. Having with ſome difficulty ſtemmed the current, and ſailed for ſome time between a number of pleaſant villages, they perceived at a little diſtance, a fleet of canoes full of armed Indians, and a large body on ſhore, who by outcries and geſticulations that betrayed their own fear, endeavoured to intimidate and prevent the Spaniards from landing. Grijalva ſeeing them ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and terror at the appearance of his veſſels and men, took this opportunity to leap on ſhore, where having drawn up his people, and erected the royal ſtandard as an act of poſſeſſion, he ſent two Indian boys, who had been taken in the firſt expedition to Yucatan, with a meſſage to the natives, importing that he came in peace without any intention to give offence. In conſequence of this declaration, they approached in four canoes, and the compliments of ſalutation being paſt, Grijalva, by the help of his interpreters, gave them to underſtand that he and his ſoldiers were ſervants

to

to a powerful monarch, who poſſeſſed an empire where the ſun riſes; and in whoſe name he was come to offer them peace and great advantages, provided they would become his ſubjects. This propoſal was not at all agreeable to the Indians, one of whom replied, that it could not be a good peace, the condition of which was ſubjection; but, with regard to peace or war they would conſult their ſuperiors, and ſpeedily return with a definitive anſwer. Accordingly they ſoon came back with ſignals of peace, and were followed by the cacique or chief, who, after having made his ſubmiſſion with great gravity, preſented Grijalva with a plentiful banquet of fruit and proviſion, and afterwards with plumes of various colours, robes of fine cotton, and figures of animals made of thin plates of gold: in return for this liberality, Grijalva gratified him and his attendants with ſome Caſtilian trifles, that were very acceptable; then re-embarking, he returned to ſea, and, continuing the ſame courſe as far as another river, called it the river of flags, becauſe, upon the neighbouring ſhore, they ſaw a great number of Indians waving white flags in token of peace, and by other ſignals and cries inviting the Chriſtians to land. In compliance with their deſire, the Spaniards went on ſhore, and were received with great hoſpitality by three principal men, who had provided a banquet for their gueſts, after which they ordered their people to produce ſome pieces of gold, which they wanted to exchange for European commodities. A market was immediately opened, with beads, combs, knives and other inſtruments of iron, for which Grijalva, in the ſpace of ſix days, received to the amount of fifteen thouſand * peſos of gold. Theſe three chiefs gave the Spaniards to underſtand they were ſervants to Motezuma, whoſe empire extend-
ed

* Peſo was equal to ninety grains.

ed over many countries, abounding with gold and other riches; and that they came by his order to examine into the intention of the Chriſtians.

Grijalva parted with them in an amicable manner, and coaſting along, landed in a ſmall iſland which he called the iſland of ſacrifices, becauſe going to view an houſe built of ſtone that overlooked the reſt, he found ſeveral idols of an horrible figure, and near them the mangled bodies of ſix or ſeven men newly ſacrificed. From thence they paſſed to another iſle, which was called St. Juan de Ulua, becauſe they made it on the Baptiſt's day, and heard an Indian pronounce ſeveral times the word *Culua* with great vociferation. Here they ſtayed ſeveral days, exchanging toys for plates of gold with the natives who came from the neighbouring parts; and from thence Pedro de Alvarado was diſpatched to Cuba, in one of the ſhips, with all the gold, and an account of the diſcoveries which had been made, as well as with an earneſt requeſt that Velaſquez would ſend a re-inforcement of men and neceſſary ſtores, to enable Grijalva to make a ſettlement. Immediately after Alvarado's departure, the other three veſſels left St. Juan de Ulua, and, ſtill following the direction of the coaſt as far as Panuco, came to anchor in the river of canoes, ſo named becauſe they were attacked in this place by ſixteen canoes filled with armed Indians, who, after having cut the cable of one ſhip, were charged, defeated and put to flight by the Spaniards. From hence they ſailed along till they arrived at a point of land running far out into the ſea; and, as they found great difficulty in doubling this cape, the pilots proteſted againſt proceeding farther, and were ſeconded by the men, grown weary of ſuch a tedious navigation.

Grijalva having called a council of his officers to deliberate upon the poſture of their officers, it was agreed

agreed, as one of the ſhips had ſuſtained damage, as the proviſion began to ſpoil, the people were diſſatisfied, and the inſtructions of governor Velaſquez forbad them to make any ſettlement, that they ſhould proceed no farther, but return to Cuba, where they might be furniſhed with neceſſaries for another expedition. In conſequence of this determination, he altered his courſe, and, on the 15th of November 1518, arrived in the harbour of St. Jago, where he was very ungratefully received by Velaſquez, who bitterly reproached him for having omitted to make a ſettlement, tho' he produced his own order, by which he was reſtricted in that particular.

CHAP. II.

The character of Cortes; he receives a commiſſion from Velaſquez; fits out a fleet; ſails to the Havannah; is perſecuted by Velaſquez.

THIS governor had been tranſported with joy at ſight of the gold brought by Alvarado, who arrived but a few days before Grijalva; and, to ſuch a degree of eagerneſs and impatience was he inflamed by their ſucceſs, that, even in this ſhort ſpace, he had ſent a perſon to the court of Spain, with an account of the diſcovery, and a detail of his own ſervices; in conſideration of which, he ſollicited the title of king's lieutenant of the countries he ſhould conquer: and he had actually begun to fit out a new fleet for another expedition, the conduct of which, he reſolved to entruſt to a man of diſtinguiſhed activity and reſolution. The voice of the people was in favour of Grijalva, who had already given proofs of his honour and ability; and his competitors were Antonio and Bernardino Velaſquez near relations of the governor, and ſeveral other

other gentlemen of good character and great influence in the iſland: but the governor continued irreſolute, dreading the ambition of thoſe whoſe capacity he approved, until Amador de Lariz the king's treaſurer, and Andres de Duero his own ſecretary, in whom he entirely confided, propoſed their friend Hernan Cortes as a perſon every way qualified for ſuch a command. This celebrated conqueror was a native of Medellen, a town of Eſtremadura, deſcended from a good family, and educated for a military life. His parents intended to have ſent him to Italy to ſerve under that great captain Gonſalvo de Cordoua, but juſt when he was ready to embark, he was taken ill of a dangerous diſtemper, by which that opportunity was loſt: he afterwards reſolved to puſh his fortune in the Weſt-Indies, and ſailed thither in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando who was his kinſman, and at that time governor of St. Domingo. Notwithſtanding the favourable reception he met with from that gentleman, he ſoon grew tired of inaction, for, by this time the iſland of Hiſpaniola was wholly reduced, and underſtanding the war was ſtill carried on in Cuba, he obtained leave to go thither, and ſignalized himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to acquire the reputation of a valiant ſoldier and able officer. Nor was he leſs remarkable for other agreeable endowments: his perſon and addreſs were prepoſſeſſing, his diſpoſition was amiable, his converſation entertaining, and his generoſity unbounded. By dint of theſe accompliſhments, he won the heart of a noble young lady called Donna Cathalina Suarez Pacheco, who was ſollicited in marriage by the governor Diego Velaſquez; and his ſucceſs exaſperated that gentleman to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed him to be apprehended and kept in confinement, until the affair was adjuſted, and then Velaſquez

laſquez ſtood father to the bride. He afterwards lived in a degree of intimacy with Cortes, on whom he conferred the poſt of alcalde or chief magiſtrate in the town of St. Jago, an employment uſually conferred on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conqueſt of thoſe countries.

In this ſituation was Hernan Cortes, when his friends recommended him to Velaſquez, as a proper perſon to conduct the purpoſed enterprize; and the governor approving of their choice, a commiſſion was immediately ſigned, appointing him captain general of the fleet, and of the countries he ſhould diſcover and ſubdue.

This nomination was no ſooner known than reſented by all the competitors, eſpecially by the relations of Velaſquez, who did not ſcruple to cenſure his conduct openly, in repoſing ſuch important truſt in a man whom he had once ſo flagrantly diſobliged; in a man who concealed the moſt vindictive diſpoſition under the maſk of courteſy and mildneſs, and who employed the moſt inſinuating artifices to acquire a popularity which could not fail of being very dangerous to thoſe who had incurred his diſpleaſure. It is even reported, that the governor was one day accoſted by a waggiſh lunatick, who ſaid, "Thou haſt done well, friend "Diego: in a little time there will be occaſion "for another fleet to go in purſuit of Cortes." In all probability, this ſarcaſm was dictated by ſome of thoſe who envied the fortune of the new general. Theſe remonſtrances had at firſt no effect upon Velaſquez, who adhered to his reſolution, while Hernan began to make preparations for his departure. He employed his own fortune, and all he could borrow, in the purchaſe of proviſions, arms and ammunition, and inliſted ſoldiers with ſuch expedition and ſucceſs, that, in a few days, above three hundred were engaged by the fame of

the

the enterprize, and the character of the captain; and among theſe was Diego de Ordaz, a creature and confidant of Velaſquez. Theſe together with the ſailors, and all other neceſſaries, being embarked in ten veſſels from eighty to one hundred tons, they ſailed from the port of St. Jago de Cuba, on the 18th day of November in the year 1518, and, coaſting along the north ſide of the iſland towards the eaſt, arrived in a few days at the port of La Trinidad, where Cortes, publiſhing his deſign, was joined by Juan de Eſcalante, Pedro Sanchez Farfan, Gonzalo Mexia, and other conſiderable perſons of that ſettlement, and afterwards by Pedro de Alvarado with four of his brothers, and Alonzo Davila: from the town of Sancti Spiritus, which ſtands at a little diſtance from La Trinidad, he was reinforced by Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Roderigo Rangel, Juan Velaſquez de Leon, who was the governor's relation, and others perſons of diſtinction, who reſolved to follow the fortune of Cortes. But he was no ſooner departed from St. Jago, than his enemies renewed their batteries againſt him, and at length, by the aſſiſtance of a pretended aſtrologer, found means to arouſe the jealouſy of Velaſquez, who immediately diſpatched couriers to La Trinidad, with orders to his couſin Franciſco Verdugo alcalde of the place, to diſpoſſeſs Cortes of his command in a judicial way, his commiſſion being revoked. Hernan being informed of his deſign, conſulted his friends and adherents, who declared with great vehemence, that they would ſtand by him to the laſt extremity; and now, aſſured of their fidelity, he went to viſit the alcalde, to whom he complained of the governor's injurious behaviour, aſſuring him that his followers were ſo much incenſed at the affront, that it was with great difficulty he could reſtrain them from acts of violence. He repreſented

ſented the weakneſs and injuſtice of Don Diego's proceedings, which argued a mean jealouſy of a man whoſe friendſhip he had no reaſon to doubt; and uſed ſuch arguments to prove what prejudice not only he and all his followers, but alſo his majeſty's intereſt would ſuffer from the execution of the governor's order, that the alcalde was convinced, and far from taking any ſtep to delay the expedition, wrote to Velaſquez, exhorting him to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and his advice was backed by letters from Diego de Ordaz and others, who enjoyed ſome degree of his favour; and Cortes himſelf took the ſame opportunity of vindicating his own character, gently reproaching him with having liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of his private enemies.

Mean while, he reſolved to proſecute his voyage, and having ſent Pedro de Alvarado by land, with a party of ſoldiers to take care of the horſes, and raiſe recruits in the ſettlements through which he ſhould paſs; he ſailed with the fleet for the Havanna, and that ſame night the reſt of the ſhips ſeparated from the capitana, in which he himſelf had embarked; but, as the pilots did not perceive their error till day-light, they were obliged to continue their courſe to the Havanna, where they were kindly received by Pedro de Barba the governor under Velaſquez. Here they ſtayed ſeveral days without hearing any news of Cortes, ſo that they concluded he was loſt, and began to deliberate about chuſing another conductor, when the election was happily prevented by the ſafe arrival of their original captain, whoſe ſhip having ſtruck upon ſome flats near the iſle of pines, received ſuch damage, and ſtuck ſo faſt, that he had been obliged to unload her upon a little ſandy iſland in the neighbourhood before ſhe could be got off; and ſeven days elapſed before ſhe could be refitted and reloaded.

When

When he arrived at the Havanna, he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great courteſy and reſpect by the governor; and here he was joined by Franciſco de Montejo, afterwards king's lieutenant of Yucatan, and many other perſons of note, who added to the reputation of the enterprize. During the few days he was obliged to ſtay in this place in order to finiſh the equipment, he cleaned and proved his artillery, ordered a number of cotton quilts to be made as coats of mail to defend his people from the Indian arrows, exerciſed his ſoldiers in the uſe of their fire-arms and croſs-bows, as well as in the management of their pikes, and taught them to form a battalion, file off, attack and retreat, according to the moſt approved practice in war. In the midſt of theſe preparations, one Gaſpar de Garnica arrived with diſpatches to Pedro de Barba, containing expreſs orders to diveſt Cortes of his command, and ſend him priſoner to St. Jago with a good convoy; and at the ſame time, he ſent letters to Diego de Ordaz, and Juan Velaſquez de Leon, commanding them to aſſiſt the governor in the execution of his orders.

Cortes, ſhocked and incenſed at this freſh inſtance of the folly and inſolence of Velaſquez, which ſo evidently tended to the miſcarriage of an enterprize in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes, reſolved to provide for himſelf, and make uſe of the force he was maſter of, as his occaſions ſhould require. In the mean time, before Pedro de Barba had determined to publiſh the order, he commanded Diego de Ordaz, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected from the efforts he had made to be choſen chief in his abſence, to embark immediately on board of one of the veſſels, and make the beſt of his way to Guanicanico, a ſettlement on the other ſide of Cape St. Antonio, to take in proviſions

and

and wait for him and the reſt of the fleet: then he viſited Juan de Velaſquez, whom he ſoon brought over to his intereſt. Having taken theſe precautions, his next ſtep was to explain his ſituation to the ſoldiers, who expreſſed the utmoſt indignation againſt his enemies, and raiſed ſuch a tumult as could not be appeaſed, until Pedro de Barba, who dreaded the conſequence of their fury, appearing with Cortes, publickly declared that he had no intention to execute the order of Velaſquez, which he looked upon as a flagrant piece of injuſtice. At the ſame time, he ſent back Garnica with letters to that governor, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the ferment his order had produced, to the manifeſt danger of the town, and adviſing him to regain Cortes by acts of friendſhip.

This commotion being quieted, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, one of which was put on board of each veſſel; and he named for captains, Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, Franciſco de Montejo, Chriſtoval de Olid, Juan de Eſcalante, Franciſco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Franciſco Saucedo, and Diego de Ordaz, whom he was not willing to diſoblige; reſerving to himſelf the command of the capitana, and entruſting Gines de Nortes with the care of the brigantine. The command of the artillery he beſtowed upon Franciſco de Orozco, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars of Italy; and his chief pilot was Antonio de Alaminos, who had acted in the ſame capacity in the voyages of Franciſco Fernandez de Cordoua and Juan de Grijalva. He then delivered inſtructions to his officers, and, the day of embarkation being arrived, after a ſolemn maſs, in which all the ſoldiers aſſiſted, he gave the word *St. Peter*, whom he acknowledged as patron of his expedition. Pedro de Alvarado was ſent to Guanicanico

Guanicanico in queſt of Ordaz, with whom he had orders to go and wait for the fleet at Cape St. Antonio: and the reſt of the veſſels were directed to follow the capitana, and in caſe of ſeparation, to rendezvous at the Iſle of Cozumel, where Cortes propoſed to concert the plan of operations.

CHAP. III.

He takes his departure from Cuba; lands upon the iſland of Cozumel; enters into a treaty of friendſhip with the cacique; demoliſhes the Indian idols; redeems a captive Spaniard called Jerom de Aguilar.

THESE ſteps being taken, they departed from the Havanna on the 10th day of February 1519, with a favourable gale; but, at ſun ſet, a furious ſtorm ariſing put the whole fleet in diſorder. Pedro de Alvarado, who had ſailed in queſt of Diego de Ordaz, perceived at day break the tempeſt had driven him ſo far into the gulph, that it would be very difficult to weather cape St. Antonio; and therefore, with the conſent of his pilot, ſteered away for Cozumel, where they found a ſmall town near the coaſt, abandoned by the Indians, who had fled farther into the country at their approach. Alvarado, who was a young man of a very enterprizing ſpirit, tho' unguided by experience and diſcretion, thought nothing miſbecame a ſoldier ſo much as inaction, and, with that ſentiment, ordered his men to march farther into the iſland, in order to reconnoitre. At the diſtance of a league, they found another town abandoned as the firſt, and here the ſoldiers made prize of ſome proviſions, together with the plunder of an idol-temple, conſiſting of ornamental jewels, and inſtruments for ſacrifice, made of gold mixed with copper,

copper, tho' of ſmall value. This expedition, far from promoting the ſervice, rendered it impracticable to gain the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the Indians, and Alvarado was afterwards ſenſible of his miſconduct.

Next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having ſent another veſſel with directions to Ordaz, on the ſuppoſition that Alvarado was prevented by the ſtorm, and tho' he was very well pleaſed to find that young captain in ſafety at Cozumel, he reprimanded him in public for his raſh behaviour, and diſmiſſed three Indian priſoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be reſtored, and given them ſome preſents for their caciques, in token of amity and peace.

The Spaniards continued three days encamped on the ſea-ſide, during which the men were muſtered, and found to amount to five hundred and eight ſoldiers, one hundred and nine marines and mechanics, beſides two chaplains, who were the licentiate Juan Diaz and Father Bartholome de Olmedo; and this army was ſtrengthened by ſixteen horſe. The people being aſſembled on this occaſion, Cortes took the opportunity of making a public ſpeech, in which, after having inflamed their courage and cupidity with the promiſe of honour and wealth, he explained the dangers they muſt lay their account with encountering, and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the neceſſity of acting with unanimity and undaunted reſolution.

This harangue was interrupted by the appearance of ſome Indians, and tho' they were unarmed and in ſmall detached parties, he drew up his men in order, without beat of drum, and directed them to ſtand covered behind their lines, prepared for whatever ſhould happen. The Indians perceiving no ſigns of hoſtility among the Spaniards, approached by little and little, and the boldeſt of them

entering the camp, were ſo favourably received, that they called to their countrymen, who followed their example, and mingled among the ſoldiers with great confidence and familiarity, which argued that they were accuſtomed to converſe with ſtrangers. Indeed there was an idol in this iſland, very much reverenced by the barbarians, who reſorted to it in great crowds, from all the different provinces of the continent; ſo that the natives of Cozumel were uſed to the ſight of nations who differed from one another in cuſtom, language and dreſs. Next day, the principal cacique of the iſland viſited Cortes, who received him very graciouſly; and while the converſation was carried on by the medium of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to pronounce the word *Caſtilla*, the meaning of which when Cortes demanded, he was given to underſtand that the ſavage ſaid, the Spaniards reſembled certain priſoners in Yucatan, who were natives of a country called *Caſtilla*. Hernan immediately concluded that thoſe priſoners were his countrymen, whom he forthwith reſolved to releaſe; and, conſulting his gueſt on this ſubject, the cacique very candidly told him, they were in the power of ſome Indians of the higheſt rank, reſiding in the heart of Yucatan, and that the moſt certain and expeditious method of procuring their liberty, would be to offer a ranſom; for, ſhould he have recourſe to arms, they would run the riſque of being murthered by their maſters. In compliance with this advice, he ordered Diego de Ordaz to ſail to the coaſt of Yucatan, according to the direction of the cacique, with a letter to the priſoners, and ſome trifles for their ranſom, and to ſtay eight days, within which ſpace the Indians, appointed by the cacique for that purpoſe, undertook to return with an anſwer; mean while Cortes marched with his men in a body round the iſland,

in order to view the country, keep his men in action, which might prevent irregularities, and diſplay his ſtrength and diſcipline to the pilgrims, who would not fail to magnify both, in the reſpective nations to which they belonged. In this circuit he was always accompanied by the cacique and a great number of Indians, who ſupplied him with proviſions, and exchanged gold for glaſs beads, which they believed they could never purchaſe too dear.

At a little diſtance from the coaſt, ſtood the temple of the idol, ſo much revered by the ſavages: it was a ſquare ſtone building of no contemptible architecture, and the idol, called Cozumel, appeared in the figure of a man of a moſt horrible aſpect. Here was a very great concourſe of people, liſtening to a prieſt diſtinguiſhed by a certain garb, who ſeemed to preach with great gravity and emphaſis of ſpeech and geſticulation. Cortes, ſhocked at the abſurdity of ſuch worſhip, told the cacique, that, in order to maintain the friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for him to renounce ſuch a diabolical religion, and influence his ſubjects to follow his example. This declaration he enforced by ſuch arguments in favour of the Chriſtian religion, that the chief was confounded and diſmayed, and begged leave to communicate the affair to his prieſts, with whom he left the abſolute authority of deciding in matters of religion. Theſe being immediately brought before Cortes, and informed of the affair in agitation, began with hideous outcries to proteſt againſt thoſe who ſhould be ſo audacious as to diſturb the worſhip of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of heaven upon ſuch impious innovators. Cortes, without paying the leaſt regard to their menaces, immediately ordered his ſoldiers to demoliſh the altar, and break all their idols in pieces: a ſcene that filled the barbarians with aſtoniſhment and affright;

affright; which, however, were ſucceeded by contempt for their own deities, when they beheld the Chriſtians uſe them in this manner with impunity. The other temples underwent the ſame fate, except the chief place of worſhip, which being cleanſed from all impurities, was converted into a Chriſtian chappel; and, next day, maſs was ſaid at a new altar, in preſence of the cacique and his people, who aſſiſted at the ceremony with great reverence and marks of devotion.

At the end of eight days, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without the priſoners or the Indians, who had not returned according to their promiſe: ſo that Cortes was highly diſpleaſed at the cacique, who, he ſuppoſed, had deceived him by falſe intelligence, in order to appropriate to himſelf the preſents intended for the ranſom. Nevertheleſs, he would not manifeſt his reſentment or ſuſpicion, but, taking his leave of him with great civility and expreſſions of ſatisfaction, he put to ſea, intending to purſue the courſe which had been followed by Grijalva. Although they ſet ſail with a fair wind, they were obliged that ſame day to return to the iſland, in conſequence of an accident that happened to the ſhip commanded by Juan de Eſcalante, which ſprung a leak, and had almoſt foundered before ſhe reached the ſhore. This delay, which at firſt ſeemed a misfortune, turned out a moſt lucky incident, which greatly contributed to the conqueſt of New Spain; for, after having ſpent four days in repairing the damage, juſt as they were re-embarking, they diſcovered a canoe croſſing the gulph of Yucatan, and ſtanding directly for the iſland. Cortes, perceiving ſhe was full of armed Indians, ordered Andrew de Tapia to lie in ambuſcade near the place to which they rowed, and as ſoon as they landed, he ruſhed between them and the canoe, ſo as to cut off their retreat. The

ſavages immediately betook themſelves to flight, but one among them, advancing a few paces towards the Spaniards, pronounced with a loud voice in the Caſtilian tongue, "I am a Chriſtian." Tapia received him with equal joy and ſurprize, and conducted him to the general, attended by the Indians, who were no other than the meſſengers left by Diego de Ordaz on the coaſt of Yucatan. He had no covering but juſt enough to hide his nakedneſs, and on one ſhoulder he bore his bow and quiver. Cortes careſſed him extremely, and having given orders to clothe and regale him, deſired to know who he was, and by what accidents he was reduced to ſuch a wretched equipage. He ſaid he was called Jerom de Aguilar, a native of Ecija, where he had received deacons orders: he had been, eight years before this deliverance, ſhipwrecked upon the flats of the Alacranes, in his paſſage from Darien to Hiſpaniola, and with twenty other perſons taking to the boat, had reached the ſhore of Yucatan, where they were taken and carried to a country of Caribee Indians, whoſe cacique immediately culled out the fatteſt of them as ſacrifices to their idols. As for Aguilar, he was ſo lean and meagre, that they reſerved him for a future banquet, and, that he might be in better caſe, gorged him with food in a wooden cage, from which he made ſhift to eſcape. Having wandered ſeveral days in the fields, without any other ſupport than that which the herbs and trees afforded, he fell into the hands of certain Indians, by whom he was preſented to their cacique, who was at war with him from whom he had made his eſcape. This maſter, who was leſs barbarous than the former, he ſerved for ſome years, during which he acquired ſuch a degree of his favour, that he conferred upon him an employment near his perſon, and honoured him with his confidence. The cacique, upon his death-

bed,

bed, recommended him to his ſon, under whom he poſſeſſed the ſame office; and, in a war with the neighbouring caciques, ſignalized his valour and conduct in ſuch a manner, that he became a great favourite both of prince and people; ſo that, when he received the letter from Cortes, he obtained his liberty as the recompence of his ſervices, and offered, as his own gift, the preſents that were ſent for his ranſom.

CHAP. IV.

He ſails from Cozumel; enters the river Grijalva; defeats the Indians; takes the town of Tabaſco; obtains a great victory.

THE Spaniards, having refitted their ſhip and gained this valuable acquiſition, departed from the iſland for the ſecond time, on the 4th of March 1519, and doubling the point of Catoche, which is the moſt eaſterly part of Yucatan, arrived in the road of Champatan, where Cortes diſcovered an inclination to land, and chaſtiſe the natives for the oppoſition they had made to Hernandez de Cordoua and Grijalva; but, being overruled by the ſuggeſtions of the pilots, who repreſented that the wind favoured the proſecution of their voyage, and was directly contrary to their landing in this place, he purſued his courſe until he reached the river of Grijalva, where there was no room for deliberation; for, the good treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabaſco, and the gold brought from thence, were motives not to be reſiſted. He therefore made a diſpoſition for entering the river, leaving his larger veſſels at anchor without, and embarking his ſoldiers on board of the ſmaller and the boats; and, in the order formerly obſerved by

Grijalva, began to ſtem the current, when he perceived both ſides of the river covered with canoes full of armed Indians, ſupported by ſeveral bodies on ſhore. Gueſſing, from their outcries and geſticulations, that their intent was hoſtile, he ſent Aguilar as interpreter, in a canoe, with offers of peace, which being rejected with inſolence, he reſolved to chaſtiſe them for their preſumption, altho' his revenge would delay his grand project of penetrating at once into the territories of Motezuma.

Night being at hand, he thought proper to lie by till day, and in the mean time ordered his ſoldiers to put on their quilted coats, to tranſport the artillery into the ſmall veſſels, and make all the neceſſary preparations for an engagement. Day no ſooner appeared, than his veſſels, being ranged in the figure of an half moon, advanced ſlowly towards the Indians, who waited their approach in the ſame order; and Cortes, ſtill loth to ſhed the blood of thoſe ignorant ſavages, ſent Aguilar a ſecond time with propoſals of amity and peace, to which they made no anſwer, but, giving the ſignal for the attack, rowed down with great expedition, by favour of the current, until they were near enough to uſe their arrows, of which they diſcharged ſuch a number both from the canoes and banks of the river, that the Spaniards were very much embaraſſed in their endeavours to cover themſelves. Nevertheleſs, having ſuſtained the charge, they returned it with ſuch intereſt, that the canoes quickly left the paſſage free, and many Indians, intimidated by the death of their companions, flung themſelves into the river. The Spaniſh veſſels approached the ſhore, in a marſhy place covered with brambles, where the Indians lay in ambuſh, and renewed the attack with great fury; notwithſtanding which, Cortes made his point good, and having formed his battalion in ſight of the enemy, whoſe numbers

continually increaſed, he ordered Alonzo Davila to advance with an hundred ſoldiers through the wood, and take poſſeſſion of the town of Tabaſco, which, according to the information of thoſe who had been in the former expeditions, was not far from the place of action. This officer being detached, Cortes at the head of his troops attacked that vaſt multitude, and though he was obliged to fight up to the knees in mud, where he loſt one of his own ſhoes, he put the ſavages to flight, and they inſtantly diſappeared, tho' with intention to defend their town, as by this time they had diſcovered the march of Davila. But, before he got up, Cortes reached Tabaſco, which was fortified with large trunks of trees fixed in the ground like paliſadoes, with interſtices for the convenience of ſhooting arrows: and at the extremity of the circle, one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding lane, in which were two or three block-houſes of wood that filled up the paſſage. Cortes, being joined by Davila, whoſe march had been retarded by marſhes and lakes, diſtributed among the men proper inſtruments for breaking down the paliſadoes, and, drawing his ſword, led them on to the attack. Having received a ſhower of arrows on their ſhields, they advanced to the fortification, and, diſcharging their fire-arms and croſs-bows through the interſtices, quickly drove the enemy backwards, ſo as to be at liberty to demoliſh the paliſadoes. Then entering without difficulty, they found the Indians formed behind barricadoes in the ſtreets; but they were ſo embaraſſed by their own numbers, that their reſiſtance had little or no effect. They made their laſt effort in an open ſpace about the center of the town, from whence, however, they were ſoon repulſed, and fled to the woods in great diſorder; and Cortes would not follow the purſuit, that his men might

have time to refreſh themſelves, and the fugitives an opportunity to ſue for peace. In this manner did the Spaniards make themſelves maſters of Tabaſco, which was well ſtored with proviſions, tho' the Indians had removed their families and effects; and the conqueſt did not coſt the life of one Chriſtian, yet fourteen or fifteen were wounded: whereas the Indians loſt a conſiderable number. The troops were lodged that night in three temples, and tho' next day the country appeared quite deſerted, and not the leaſt ſign of an enemy appeared, every place being ſilent and ſolitary, Hernan began to be ſuſpicious of this ſtillneſs; and his apprehenſions were confirmed, when he underſtood that Melchior his interpreter, who came from Cuba, had deſerted to the barbarians, and doubtleſs diſcovered the ſmall number of the Spaniards. In this interval, he detached, by different routs, Pedro de Alvarado, and Franciſco de Lugo, each having an hundred men, to view the country, with orders to retire if they ſhould find any army in the field. Franciſco de Lugo, after an hour's march, fell into an ambuſcade, and was attacked on all ſides with ſuch fury, that he was obliged to form his ſmall body into an hollow ſquare, and muſt certainly have been overpowered by the numbers of the enemy, had not Alvarado heard the report of the fire-arms and haſtened to his aſſiſtance, after having detached an Indian of Cuba to apprize Cortes of his ſituation. Perceiving, as he advanced, the diſtreſs of de Lugo, whoſe men were by this time quite fatigued, he fell upon the enemy with ſuch reſolution, that they fled in the utmoſt conſternation at this unexpected attack. Yet, when they recovered of their ſurprize, they formed again, in order to obſtruct the retreat of the two captains, who being joined, and a little refreſhed with reſt, were obliged to cut their way through a vaſt multitude

tude of barbarians, that rolled forwards and backwards like the waves of the ſea, until Cortes appeared at a diſtance marching to the relief of his men; then the Indians diſperſed, leaving the field free to the Spaniards, eleven of whom were wounded, and of theſe two died; and this, at that time, was counted a very conſiderable loſs.

Some priſoners that were taken, being examined ſeparately by Jerom de Aguilar, agreed in affirming that all the caciques of the neighbouring countries were ſummoned to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Tabaſco, and that next day a very powerful army would take the field, to deſtroy the Spaniards at once. In conſequence of this intelligence, Cortes, calling a council of his captains, communicated what he had learned, and deſired their advice, after he had repreſented the weakneſs and ignorance of the enemy, and the ill conſequence of turning their backs upon the barbarians, who would not fail to report ſuch a diſgraceful ſtep, and inſpire a contempt of them in that country to which they were going. All the officers agreeing that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtay and ſubdue theſe people, Cortes ordered the wounded men to be carried on board, the horſes to be landed, the artillery to be in readineſs, and every thing in order by next morning, which was the feaſt of the Annunciation. At day-break the men heard maſs, then giving the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, he himſelf and the other commanders mounted on horſeback, and marched with the artillery, which moved but ſlowly, becauſe the ground was boggy and uneven, until arriving at a place called Cinthla, about the diſtance of a league from their quarters, they deſcried afar off the Indian army, ſo numerous and extenſive, that the eye could not take it in. As the art of war is almoſt the ſame in all the nations of New Spain, we ſhall now deſcribe the Indian manner of

marching and engaging, by which the reader will have an idea of their appearance through the whole of this conqueſt.

Their chief weapons are bows and arrows, the bow-ſtrings being made of ſinews of beaſts, or thongs of deer ſkin twiſted, and their arrows, for want of iron, headed with bones; they uſe likewiſe a kind of javelin, which ſometimes they throw, and ſometimes manage as a pike, together with long two-handed ſwords of wood edged with flints: ſome of the ſtrongeſt weild clubs pointed in the ſame manner, and many ſling ſtones with great force and dexterity. Their defenſive arms, which are worn by none but commanders and perſons of diſtinction, conſiſt of quilted cotton coats, ill-fitted breaſt-plates and ſhields of wood or tortoiſe-ſhell, adorned with plates of metal. The generality of them are naked, their faces and bodies being painted in various colours, in order to ſtrike terror into their enemies; and their heads adorned with plumes of feathers, raiſed up in the form of crowns, to make them appear taller than they really are. Their warlike inſtruments are pipes of large cane, conch-ſhells, and drums made of the trunk of a tree hollowed, which being beaten with a ſtick, yield a very diſagreeable ſound. Their battalions are formed without any order, they have a body of reſerve to anſwer all emergencies, and they attack with great fury and precipitation, making hideous outcries to terrify their adverſaries. Not but that they are divided into companies, commanded by their reſpective officers, who cannot, however, govern them in an engagement, during which, they obey nothing but the dictates of rage or horror; in conſequence of which, they are equally apt to charge and run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians that now poured upon the Spaniards, whom

Cortes

Cortes poſted under the ſhelter of a riſing-ground that covered the rear, and having placed the artillery to the greateſt advantage, he advanced with his fifteen horſe into the center of a wood, from whence he meant to ſally, and flank the enemy as occaſion ſhould require.

The Indians, having marched up within a proper diſtance, ſhot their arrows, and then attacked with ſuch ferocity and expedition, that the Spaniards, finding their fire-arms and croſs-bows unable to ſtop their progreſs, had recourſe to their ſwords, which ſoon ſmoked with ſlaughter; and as the enemy preſſed on, the artillery deſtroyed them by whole companies: yet they continued obſtinate or rather deſperate in their aſſault, concealing the damage they ſuffered, by cloſing after the ball was paſt, and drowning the groans and lamentations of the wounded by dreadful outcries. Diego de Ordaz, repairing to every part where his preſence was required, acquitted himſelf as a valiant ſoldier and judicious captain; but ſuch was the number of the foe, that his men could hardly ſtand their ground, when Cortes ſuddenly ruſhing from the wood, broke through the thickeſt of their battalions, doing infinite execution with his horſe, the very ſight of which terrified the Indians, who, feeling themſelves wounded and trodden under foot by ſuch dreadful monſters, threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation. Diego de Ordaz being ſenſible of what was acting, from the weak reſiſtance of their van, which now began to face about, advanced with his infantry, and charged this huge body with ſuch reſolution, that he ſoon forced his way to the place which Cortes and his captains had cleared of the enemy, who retreated in good order, making a running fight, until the Spaniards overtook them, and then they fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving above eight hundred dead upon the ſpot. In ob-

taining this victory over forty thouſand Indians, two Spaniards were killed, and ſeventy wounded: ſo that, in ſpite of envy, the action was truly worthy of the honour which was afterwards done it, by building a church in commemoration of it, dedicated to the Lady of Victory, a name likewiſe beſtowed on the firſt town which the Spaniards built in that province.

CHAP. V.

He makes peace with the cacique; receives Donna Marina in a preſent; reimbarks; coaſts along to the weſtward; arrives at St. Juan de Ulua.

NEXT day, Cortes ordered two or three Indian officers, who were priſoners, to be brought before him, and perceiving their terror by their countenances, received them courteouſly, and ſet them at liberty, after having preſented them with ſome trifles. This piece of humanity had ſuch an effect, that in a few hours ſeveral Indians came to the quarters, loaded with Indian wheat, fowls, and other proviſions, as a preſent from the principal cacique of Tabaſco, who by theſe ambaſſadors made propoſals of peace; but Jerom de Aguilar obſerving that theſe were mean perſons, and that the cuſtom was to ſend people of the firſt rank upon ſuch occaſions, Cortes, tho' very deſirous of peace, would not admit them to his preſence, but ſent them back to their cacique, with a meſſage, importing, that if he deſired his friendſhip, he muſt ſend perſons of greater account to ſollicit. The Indian chief, being ſenſible of his error, ſent next day thirty of his principal men, adorned with their plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another preſent to the Chriſtian general. Cortes believing it was neceſſary, on this occaſion, to lay

lay aſide his natural affability, aſſumed a grave and ſevere aſpect; and, being attended by his officers, gave audience to thoſe ambaſſadors, who having firſt perfumed him with great ſubmiſſion, made an apology for the war, and ſued for peace with the moſt earneſt entreaties. Having liſtened with an affected reſerve, he explained the cauſe he had to be diſpleaſed at their conduct, and then condeſcending to grant their requeſt, preſented them with a few baubles, ſo that they returned extremely well ſatisfied with the iſſue of their negotiation. Cortes was afterwards viſited by the cacique in perſon, attended by all his officers and relations, and followed by a preſent of cotton-cloths, plumes, and ſome pieces of low gold, of admirable workmanſhip. He was received with open arms, and peace being reeſtabliſhed, he, to ſhow his confidence in Hernan, ordered his ſubjects to return with their families to Tabaſco, and obey the Chriſtians in every thing they ſhould command. Next day he returned with a preſent of Indian women to ſerve the Chriſtians, in dreſſing all ſorts of victuals, and making bread of Indian wheat: among theſe was one of extraordinary beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Marina, and proved very ſerviceable in the conqueſt of Mexico, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. It was now that Cortes told the cacique and his chiefs, that he was ſubject, and officer of a moſt powerful prince, to whom, if they would become ſubjects, he would make them happy, and convert them to the Chriſtian religion, of which they were at preſent utterly ignorant. The Indians anſwered, that they ſhould think themſelves happy in obeying a monarch, whoſe greatneſs and power appeared ſo conſpicuous in the valour of his ſubjects: but, in the article of religion, they were more reſerved, and ſeemed much more inclined to worſhip a new deity, than to forſake any of their own gods.

The

The pilots now preſſed the departure of the fleet, which might be endangered by a longer ſtay in that place; and Palm-ſunday being the day appointed for embarking, Cortes ordered an altar to be raiſed, and covered with boughs in form of a chapel, where he intended to celebrate that feſtival before he ſhould go on board. Mean while the Indians aſſiſted his men in all things with the moſt officious diligence, the cacique with his chaplains always attending the Spaniſh general; and, on Sunday morning, the boughs being bleſſed with the uſual ſolemnity, were diſtributed among the ſoldiers, who marched in proceſſion, with ſuch marks of modeſty and devotion, as very deeply affected the Indian ſpectators, who exclaimed in their own language, "This muſt be "a great God, to whom ſuch valiant men pay ſo "much reſpect." Maſs being ſung, Cortes took leave of his Indian friends, after having confirmed the peace in the moſt ſolemn manner: and next day ſetting ſail, coaſted along to the weſtward, till he came in ſight of the province of Guazacoalco, and had a view of the iſland of ſacrifices. Without ſtaying to put in at Rio de Banderas, he continued his courſe, and on Maunday Thurſday, at noon, arrived at St. Juan de Ulua, where he no ſooner came to an anchor between the iſland and the main, than he ſaw two large canoes, called piraguas, coming towards the ſhips, with Indians in them, from the neighbouring coaſt: when they were within a ſmall diſtance of the admiral, they began to ſpeak in a language which Aguilar did not underſtand, a circumſtance that very much chagrined Cortes, who foreſaw that the want of an interpreter would be a great obſtacle to the ſucceſs of his enterprize. The Indian woman, whom we ſhall henceforth call Donna Marina, gueſſing his concern by his looks, told Aguilar, in the Yucatan tongue, that thoſe people ſpoke the Mexican language, and deſired audience

of

of the general, on the part of the governor of that province; and Cortes, overjoyed to find ſhe underſtood their meaning, deſired them to come on board and deliver their meſſage. This woman, who, according to report, was daughter of a cacique, had been by ſome accident in life carried away in her youth, to a place upon the confines of Yucatan, kept by a Mexican garriſon, where ſhe learned the language of that people, and afterwards, either by ſale or the fate of war, became ſlave to the cacique of Tabaſco, who made a preſent of her to Cortes, and he confirmed her in his intereſt, by making her his concubine. She was a perſon of rare endowments, in a little time learned the Caſtilian tongue, and bore a ſon to the conqueror of Mexico, who was called Don Martin Cortes, and created a knight of St. Jago, in conſideration of the nobility of his mother's birth. This lady, tho' not as yet acquainted with the language of Spain, interpreted to Aguilar, in the Yucatan tongue, what the Mexicans ſaid, and he imparted it to Cortes in the Caſtilian. By means of this double interpretation, they gave him to underſtand, that Pilpatoe governor, and Teutile captain-general of that province for the emperor Motezuma, ſent them to learn his intention upon the coaſt, and to offer what aſſiſtance he ſhould want for the proſecution of his voyage. Cortes having preſented them with a few baubles, and treated them with a Spaniſh collation, told them, he came as a friend, and would meet the two governors, from whom he hoped to receive the ſame civility which had been experienced by ſome of his nation the preceeding year.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

He lands and puts his men under cover; gives audience to two Mexican officers; ſends a preſent to Motezuma; receives a meſſage from that prince.

NEXT day, in the morning, being Good-Friday, the Spaniards being landed with their horſes and artillery, Cortes ordered the ſoldiers to cut faſcines and fortify their camp, within which was built a ſufficient number of huts or barracks, to ſhelter them from the exceſſive heat of the ſun; and in a little time they were all under cover; for Teutile ſent to their aſſiſtance a great number of Indians, who were of great ſervice in cutting ſtakes with their flinty tools, and afterwards in driving and interweaving them with boughs and leaves of palm-trees. They likewiſe brought plenty of proviſions and ſome cotton cloths to cover the barracks in which the officers lodged. This civility on the part of Teutile, who with a conſiderable body of troops was employed in eſtabliſhing the dominion of Motezuma in ſome places newly conquered, was in a good meaſure owing to the terror created among the Indians by the ſucceſs of the Spaniards at Tabaſco, againſt ſuch a vaſt army of their countrymen.

Cortes, notwithſtanding his friendly intercourſe with the natives, ſtill kept himſelf upon his guard, and nothing extraordinary happened till Eaſter-day in the morning, when he was viſited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very great retinue, and Hernan received them with equal ſtate, ſurrounded by his officers and ſoldiers. The firſt compliments being paſt, he conducted them to a great barrack that ſerved as a chapel, it being the hour of divine ſervice, and maſs was celebrated with all poſſible ſolemnity, to the aſtoniſhment of the Indians, which indeed had all the air of devotion. After the wor-

ſhip,

ſhip, they returned to the general's quarters, where they were entertained with great plenty and oſtentation; and the repaſt being ended, Cortes, by his interpreters told them, that his errand was to treat with the emperor Motezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Auſtria, monarch of the eaſt, touching affairs of great importance, not only to his own perſon and eſtate, but likewiſe to the welfare of his ſubjects; for which reaſon it was neceſſary that he (Cortes) ſhould appear before his royal preſence, to which he hoped he ſhould be admitted, with all the civility and reſpect due to the greatneſs of the king whoſe miniſter he was.

His gueſts, hearing this declaration, changed countenance, and, before they returned an anſwer, ordered their Indians to bring in a preſent of proviſions, fine cloths, feathers of various colours, and a great box containing divers pieces of gold curiouſly wrought: then, turning to Cortes, Teutile begged he would accept that ſmall preſent from two ſlaves of Motezuma, who had orders to entertain ſuch ſtrangers as ſhould come upon the coaſt: but he deſired he would not think of proſecuting his deſign, for it would be no eaſy matter to ſpeak with their prince; and he adviſed him as a friend to deſiſt, before experience ſhould make him ſenſible of the danger attending ſuch an enterprize. Cortes replied, with ſome warmth, that miniſters ought not to take upon themſelves to adviſe in ſuch caſes, without expreſs order; that their buſineſs was to inform Motezuma of his arrival, his embaſſy, and his determined reſolution to ſee him: for he would never leave the country with diſhonour to the king whom he repreſented.

The Indian chiefs, confounded at his boldneſs, earneſtly entreated him to continue in his quarters, until the return of a meſſenger from Motezuma, and in the mean time they would ſupply him with

all

all things neceſſary for the ſupport of his ſoldiers. During this conference, ſome Mexican painters were employed in drawing upon cotton cloths, which they had brought ready primed for the purpoſe, the ſhips, ſoldiers, arms, horſes and artillery, by way of information to Motezuma: for they knew not the uſe of letters; and this was the only method they had of tranſmitting ideas without the help of ſpeech. To render their deſcriptions more intelligible, they placed here and there certain characters that ſeemed to explain the picture, which was not at all contemptible, either for colouring or deſign: and in this manner they preſerved the remembrance of antiquities, and handed down to poſterity the annals of their kings.

Cortes perceiving their work, and being informed of their intention, obſerved that thoſe ſtill images wanted action, to expreſs the valour of his ſoldiers, and therefore ordered his men to be exerciſed, and the artillery loaded, while he and his captains, mounting their horſes, began to ſkirmiſh in a martial manner, to the amazement of the Indians, who ſeeing ſuch fierce animals ſo obedient to their riders, thought there was ſomething ſupernatural in thoſe who could manage them with ſo much eaſe and dexterity; but when, in conſequence of a ſignal, firſt the ſmall arms were fired, and then the artillery diſcharged, they were ſo confounded and diſmayed at the noiſe, the fire and the ſmoke, that ſome fell down upon the ground, others fled in the utmoſt fear, and thoſe who ſtay'd were fixed to the ſpot with terror and admiration. Cortes immediately diſſipated their apprehenſion, by aſſuring them that theſe were only diverſions from which they would receive no injury; upon which the painters began to repreſent the Spaniards drawn up, the horſes in the attitudes of their exerciſe, and the artillery ſpewing forth fire and ſmoke: while Hernan reconduct-

ed

ed the two governors to his barrack, where he gave them ſome ſmall Spaniſh jewels, and prepared a preſent for Motezuma, conſiſting of ſeveral poliſhed mirrours, an holland ſhirt, a cap of crimſon velvet, adorned with a gold medal, and a tapeſtry chair, which the Indians looked upon as a fit preſent for an emperor.

Teutile and Pilpatoe, ſeemingly well pleaſed with this inſtance of the Spaniards magnificence, took their leave; and, retiring to a ſmall diſtance, held a conſultation, in which it was agreed, that Pilpatoe ſhould remain in that place to obſerve the actions of the ſtrangers, and immediately his men began to build barracks, ſo that in a few hours a conſiderable village appeared upon the plain; and that this ſtep might not give umbrage, he ſent to inform Cortes, that his reaſon for ſtaying there was, that he might be at hand to take care of his entertainment, and ſupply his troops with proviſions. Tho' Hernan gueſſed their real intention, he connived at their diſſimulation, from which he drew ſuch advantages; for, the fear of being detected rendered them more punctual in furniſhing him with all neceſſaries. As for Teutile, he proceeded to his own quarters, from whence he diſpatched meſſengers to Motezuma, with an account of what had happened, the pictures that were drawn by his order, and the preſent of Cortes, deſiring further orders with all expedition. The king of Mexico was provided with a great number of couriers, diſtributed along the principal roads, choſen from the ſwifteſt of the Indians, who were bred up to that occupation from their childhood. Rewards were allotted out of the public treaſury to thoſe who firſt arrived at the appointed place; their chief ſchool was the principal temple of Mexico, where the idol ſtood, on the top of an hundred and twenty ſtone ſteps, and the reward was adjudged to him who firſt arrived at its feet.

Theſe

Theſe couriers were relieved at every town, like our poſt-horſes, and made the greater ſpeed, becauſe each was ſucceeded by another before he was tired, ſo that the velocity of their career never flagged. Of this there can be no better demonſtration than the return of the anſwer from Mexico, which arrived in ſeven days, tho' the diſtance by the ſhorteſt road, from that city to Juan de Ulua, amounts to ſixty leagues. Motezuma's meſſage was brought by Teutile, to the Spaniſh quarters, together with a preſent from that prince, which loaded the ſhoulders of an hundred Indians, conſiſting of very fine cotton robes, a quantity of plumes and curioſities made of feathers, ſo artificially diſpoſed as to repreſent natural figures with the moſt beautiful imitation, a great number of bows, arrows, and targets, a large plate of emboſſed gold repreſenting the ſun, another of ſilver exhibiting the moon, and a conſiderable ſtore of precious ſtones, collars of gold, rings, pendants, and other ornaments of the ſame metal, in the forms of birds and beaſts, of admirable workmanſhip. Theſe articles being diſplayed in order, upon matts made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile, turning to Cortes, told him by the interpreters, that the great emperor Motezuma had ſent him theſe things in return for his preſent, and as a token of his regard for his monarch; but that it was neither convenient nor poſſible for him, at that time, to admit him to his court. This refuſal Teutile endeavoured to ſoften, by repreſenting the badneſs of the roads, and the ſavage nature of the Indians, who would take up arms to obſtruct his march: but Hernan, who would not be ſo eaſily repulſed, received the preſent with marks of great reſpect, and anſwered, in a reſolute tone, that how loth ſoever he might be to be wanting in obedience to Motezuma, he could not diſhonour his king ſo much, as to return without having fulfilled his orders; and therefore he was obliged

obliged to inſiſt upon being admitted to an audience. He then diſmiſſed them with another preſent, promiſing to wait a certain time in that place for Motezuma's ſecond anſwer to his demand; and aſſuring them he ſhould be very much concerned at being obliged to advance farther without his permiſſion. In this interval, he ordered Franciſco de Montejo to cruize for ten days, with two veſſels, along the coaſt, in the ſame courſe he had followed the year before with Grijalva, to take a view of the towns without landing, to ſearch for ſome harbour or bay in which the fleet might be better ſheltered from the north winds than in its preſent riding, and to look out for a piece of ground where the men could be more comfortably lodged than in their firſt quarters, which, being on a ſandy ſoil, expoſed them to the reflected heat of the ſun, and the perſecution of moſquitoes or gnats, which were extremely troubleſome.

The perſeverance of Cortes in his demand incenſed Motezuma, who, in the firſt tranſports of his wrath, propoſed to deſtroy at once thoſe inſolent ſtrangers, who preſumed to diſpute his will; but, when his paſſion ſubſided, he changed his reſolution, and his rage was ſucceeded by ſorrow and conſternation: he held private councils with his miniſters and relations, public ſacrifices were made in the temples, and he diſcovered, in all his behaviour, ſuch marks of diſturbance and confuſion, that the people began to talk, without reſerve, of the approaching ruin of the empire, and of the ſigns and preſages by which it had been foreknown.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Motezuma is perplexed by the perſeverance of Cortes, to whom he ſends a ſecond preſent, with an order to leave the coaſt. Hernan artfully quiets the murmurs of his people.

MEXICO was then in the zenith of its glory, comprehending all the known provinces and countries in North America, and many petty kings or caciques, who were tributaries to Motezuma, whoſe dominions extended above five hundred leagues from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places two hundred from north to ſouth, the whole being populous, rich and fertile. This empire, from a very ſmall beginning, had riſen to ſuch a pitch of power and greatneſs, in the ſpace of one hundred and thirty years; during which the Mexicans had ſubdued all their neighbours. They were firſt governed by a military chief, but, in the progreſs of their conqueſts, they choſe a king, and their choice always fell upon the perſon of the moſt diſtinguiſhed valour, without any other regard to hereditary ſucceſſion, than that of preferring the blood royal, when it was not excelled by the merit of any other competitor. At firſt, juſtice was the rule of their conduct, but, as their dominion and power increaſed, they degenerated into tyranny and oppreſſion.

Motezuma, the ſecond of that name, and eleventh king of Mexico, was of the blood royal, and in his youth ſignalized himſelf in the war, ſo as to acquire the reputation of a valiant captain, which inſpired him with the ambition of aſcending the throne; accordingly, when he returned to court, and tho' naturally of a ſurly diſpoſition, (which is implied by his name) he exerted the arts of popularity, and diſſembled a zeal for religion, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, when the throne became vacant, he was unanimouſ-

ly

ly elected ſovereign. Having thus accompliſhed his aim, he laid aſide his affability, altered the regulations of the court, compelled the nobles to ſerve him in the moſt menial offices, and inſpired the people with ſuch terror and awe, that they durſt not look up in his preſence, but conſidered his perſon as ſacred and ſupernatural. His tyranny and pride produced many rebellions: but none of the revolting provinces could withſtand the power of his arms, except Michoacan, Tlaſcala, and Tebeaca; and theſe he ſaid he would not ſubdue, becauſe they ſupplied him with captives, for ſacrifices to his gods. When Cortes arrived on his coaſt he had reigned fourteen years, the laſt of which he paſſed in anxiety and conſternation: for, immediately after Juan de Grijalva's expedition, he was terrified with portents and prodigies, which were ſuppoſed to preſage the ruin of his empire. A dreadful comet appeared in the night, frightful exhalations flaſhed in the day, the lake of Mexico overflowed its banks with great impetuoſity, tho' the weather was calm and dry, and the people imagined they heard lamentable voices in the air, foretelling the end of the monarchy. The Indians themſelves related other circumſtances more aſtoniſhing, which ſeem to have had no other foundation than their own fear and ſuperſtition. Nevertheleſs, theſe ſigns and portents, ſome of which were perhaps invented and magnified by the diſaffected, made very deep impreſſions on the mind of Motezuma, and diſmayed his counſellors to ſuch a degree, that when the ſecond meſſage arrived from Cortes, they concluded themſelves undone, and were utterly diſtracted in their opinions. Some propoſed that the ſtrangers ſhould be treated as enemies to their gods and to their country; concluding, that the portents were ſent as warnings to prevent their ruin, by putting them upon their guard: others, either from fear or moderation, were of opinion that the

Spaniards

Spaniards ought to be received with reverence and reſpect, as creatures of an higher ſpecies, who had already given ſuch fatal proofs of amazing courage, and invincible power, ſupported by the thunder and lightening of heaven. Motezuma, having heard their debates, reſolved to follow a middle courſe, by ſending another preſent to Cortes, with a meſſage, commanding him to leave the coaſt; and, in caſe of his refuſal, to raiſe a powerful army, and act againſt him with his whole power.

While the court of Mexico was employed in theſe deliberations, Franciſco de Montejo, whom Cortes had ſent to view the coaſt, returned from his cruize, having found, at the diſtance of ſome leagues to the northward, a town called Quiabiſlau, ſituated in a fertile ſoil, well cultivated, near a large bay, where the ſhips could ride in ſafety; ſo that Hernan began to think of removing his quarters to that place, when his reſolution was for the preſent ſuſpended, by the arrival of Teutile and his captains, who came with their little perfuming pans, burning gum-copal; and, after the ceremonies of fumigation, produced Motezuma's ſecond preſent, conſiſting of the ſame particulars that conſtituted the firſt, tho' in ſmaller quantity; together with four green ſtones like emeralds, to be preſented to the king of Spain, as jewels of ineſtimable value. Theſe articles were delivered, with an expreſs injunction, commanding Cortes and his followers to be gone without delay: and the Spaniard ſtill inſiſting upon making new efforts to ſee their monarch in perſon, Teutile ſtarted up with marks of anger and confuſion, and, telling him, that hitherto Motezuma had treated him as a gueſt, but that it would be his own fault if he ſhould find himſelf uſed as an enemy, turned his back, without waiting for an anſwer, and went haſtily away. Cortes, in conſequence of this abrupt departure, ordered the guards

to

to be doubled, and next day found a conſiderable alteration, that did not fail to diſturb his men; for, the Indians that uſed to ſupply them with proviſion were gone, and not a ſoul appeared in all the country. The apprehenſion of want produced diſſatisfaction among the ſoldiers, which was fomented by ſome friends of Diego Velaſquez, who inſinuated, that Cortes ambitiouſly purſued a raſh deſign, which muſt undoubtedly end in the deſtruction of himſelf and all his followers, unleſs they ſhould return to Cuba, to refit the fleet, and reinforce the army, ſo as to be leſs unequal to ſuch an important enterprize. Cortes was not ignorant of their murmurs, but learning from his friends that the majority was on his ſide, he ſhewed himſelf to the malecontents, in the name of whom Diego de Ordaz, with ſome warmth and diſreſpect remonſtrated, that, as their force was by no means proportioned to the deſign of ſubduing a mighty empire, it was now high time to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced by Diego de Velaſquez, whoſe province it was to take proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize.

Hernan, tho' extremely provoked at the inſolent manner of this addreſs, replied with great compoſure, that thoſe who complained muſt be weary of good fortune; inaſmuch as they had hitherto met with an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs, above what their warmeſt hopes could have preſaged; witneſs, their proſperity at Cozumel, and their victory at Tabaſco: nevertheleſs, he had no inclination to put the leaſt conſtraint upon his ſoldiers, and, ſince they refuſed to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to Cuba. After this declaration, which could not fail to ſilence Diego de Ordaz and his party, he actually publiſhed his intended return, and ordered the captains to embark with their reſpective companies, that they might be ready

to ſail next morning; but while this pretended reſolution was made public, his emiſſaries, according to the directions they had received, began to exert their eloquence among the ſoldiers, obſerving, with affected warmth, that they had been deceived by Hernan Cortes, who, contrary to his promiſe of making a ſettlement in that country, was now on the point of deſerting it, notwithſtanding their unexpected ſucceſs: they therefore ſuggeſted, that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprize, he might retire with his own friends, and they would ſoon find another gentleman who would aſſume the command. Theſe inſinuations were ſo artfully diffuſed, as to bring over many of thoſe who had eſpouſed the contrary faction; and the clamour increaſed to ſuch a degree, that ſome of Hernan's friends were obliged to interpoſe, with a view to appeaſe the diſturbance they themſelves had raiſed. They commended the ſpirit of the men, and, without giving them time to cool, led them directly to Cortes, to whom they repreſented, that the ſoldiers were ready to mutiny, on account of the order he had given for re-embarkation, which they ſuppoſed was contrary to the advice of the other captains, and altogether unworthy of Spaniſh courage, which no danger or difficulties ought to overcome. Cortes, overjoyed at the good effect of his expedient, anſwered, that he had been miſinformed by ſome of thoſe who were principally concerned in the ſucceſs of the undertaking; for they had aſſured him, that all the men loudly exclaimed againſt the proſecution of the ſcheme; but, as he had taken the reſolution of returning to pleaſe his ſoldiers, he would now ſtay with much more ſatisfaction, ſince he found them ſo well diſpoſed for the ſervice of their king and country: yet as war was an employment altogether unfit for thoſe who exerciſed it contrary to their own inclinations, he would immediately provide veſſels

and

and proviſions for tranſporting to Cuba, all thoſe who did not chuſe to follow his fortune. This reply was received with univerſal acclamation and applauſe; and thoſe who were diſſatisfied, either wholly laid aſide, or concealed their diſcontent.

CHAP. VIII.

Cortes makes a ſettlement, to which he gives the name of Villa-rica de la Vera Cruz; receives a new commiſſion from this corporation; ſends the ſhips round to Quiabiſlan, for which place he begins his march by land; enters Zempoalla, and makes an alliance with the cacique.

AT this period, Cortes was viſited by five deputies from the cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province, with proffers of friendſhip and alliance, which Cortes willingly embraced, as a particular favour of heaven, arriving at a time when he was abandoned by the Mexicans; and his ſatisfaction was ſtill the greater, when he underſtood that Zempoalla was in the road to that place whither he intended to remove his quarters: nay, he was ſtill better pleaſed upon hearing that the Zempoallans, tho' tributary to Motezuma, deteſted that prince for his cruelty and pride, becauſe he foreſaw that he ſhould be able to make a party of this diſtreſſed people, that would facilitate his future ſucceſs. He therefore diſmiſſed the deputies with preſents, and profeſſions of friendſhip to the cacique, whom he promiſed to viſit in his route to Quiabiſlan.

In the mean time having, in concert with his friends, laid the plan of a corporation, to be eſtabliſhed on this continent, Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, and Franciſco de Montejo, were appointed alcaldes; Alonzo Davila, Pedro and Alonzo de

Alvarado, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, were conſtituted regidors; the chief alguazil, and procurator-general, were Juan de Eſcalante and Franciſco Alvarez Chico. Theſe appointed a clerk of the council, with other inferior officers; and, having taken the accuſtomed oath, to act according to the dictates of juſtice, and their duty to God and the king, they began to exerciſe their functions with the uſual ſolemnity, and diſtinguiſhed their new ſettlement by the name of Villa-rica de la Vera Cruz, a title which it preſerved in the place where it was afterwards fixed, for as yet the corporation was ambulatory.

The intention of Cortes, in eſtabliſhing this community, was to diveſt himſelf of that uneaſy dependence upon Velaſquez, which he hitherto ſuſtained; and therefore on the very next morning after their inſtitution, the council being aſſembled, on pretence of conſulting about the augmentation and preſervation of the new ſettlement, Cortes deſired admittance, and having paid his reſpects to the magiſtracy, obſerved, that, before they proceeded to the conſideration of other affairs, it would be neceſſary to give a ſanction to the authority of that command upon which all their hopes depended. He frankly owned, that he had no other title than that which he derived from Velaſquez, and as they knew he no longer obeyed his principal, he would not pretend to conceal the defect in his conſtitution, but was reſolved to reſign his command into their hands; that, as repreſentatives of his majeſty, they might freely proceed to the election of a leader: and, for his own part, as he had nothing at heart ſo much as the ſucceſs of the undertaking, he could, with perfect reſignation, take up a ſoldier's pike with that hand which laid down the ſtaff of a general. So ſaying, he laid his commiſſion upon the table, kiſſed the truncheon, and delivering it to the alcaldes, retired to his barrack in the capacity of a private man.

The

The council, as the affair had been preconcerted, unanimouſly admitted of his reſignation, but with the ſame unanimity voted that he ſhould be appointed general of the army, with a new commiſſion made out by them in the king's name, to be in force until they ſhould know his majeſty's pleaſure. The people, being called together by a public crier, were made acquainted with the reſignation of Cortes, and the reſolution of the council; at which they expreſſed uncommon joy, and immediately proceeded to Hernan's quarters, with the alcaldes and regidors, who gave him to underſtand, that the town of Villa-rica had, in the name of the king Don Carlos, and with the conſent and approbation of the inhabitants, in full council, choſen and appointed him general of the army in New Spain; and, in caſe it were neceſſary, did require and command him to exerciſe the functions of that ſtation, for the public good, and his majeſty's ſervice.

Hernan accepted this command with great reſpect, and now began to rule with inward ſatisfaction and ſecurity, which had a good effect upon the diſcipline of the ſoldiers. But the friends of Velaſquez reſented this alteration in a very indiſcreet manner: they endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the council, openly inveighed againſt the ambition of Cortes, talked contemptuouſly of thoſe who adhered to his intereſt; and, with the breath of ſlander induſtriouſly communicated, began to kindle a flame of diſſenſion, that would have proved of the worſt conſequences to the expedition, had not Cortes, finding more moderate expedients ineffectual, extinguiſhed it at once, by a ſtep that argued his uncommon fortitude and penetration. He ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Eſcudero, and Juan Velaſquez de Leon to be publicly ſeized, carried on board the ſhips, and put in irons; and perceiving that their impriſonment ſtruck a terror into

the troops, he declared, in a reſolute tone, that he would proceed againſt them even unto death, as ſeditious perſons, and perturbators of the public peace. In this affectation of ſeverity he continued ſome days, during which he would ſuffer no perſon to viſit the priſoners; but afterwards their friends were admitted to their converſation, and among the reſt ſome of his confidents, who found means to reduce them to reaſon: ſo that he ſuffered himſelf to be pacified, and ſo effectually conciliated their affections, that in the ſequel they ſtood by him with unſhaken fidelity and friendſhip.

Cortes, having made the proper diſpoſitions, ordered the ſhips to ſail for the bay of Quiabiſlan, whither he reſolved to march by land; and, ſetting out accordingly, he, in a few hours, reached the river of Zempoalla, which the ſoldiers paſſed in canoes, the horſes being obliged to ſwim: then the army arrived at ſome houſes in this diſtrict, which they found entirely abandoned and unfurniſhed, tho' the natives had left in their temples ſeveral idols, and inſtruments edged with flint, together with the miſerable remains of human victims, which at once moved horror and compaſſion. Here likewiſe they ſaw three or four Mexican books, made of a long ſkin or varniſhed cloth folded in leaves, upon which were painted hieroglyphics, and characters explaining the myſteries of their religion.

The Spaniards, having placed proper guards and ſentinels, paſſed the night in theſe empty houſes; and next day, continuing their march along the moſt beaten road that turned off to the weſtward, leading farther from the ſhore, they ſaw not one perſon during the whole morning, until, entering ſome very delightful meadows, they were met by twelve Indians, loaded with hens and bread, as a preſent to Cortes from the cacique of Zempoalla, who invited him to his town, where he had provided quar-

ters

ters for the Chriſtians. Six of theſe Indians were diſmiſſed, with an acknowledgment for the hoſpitality of their chief, and Cortes detained the reſt as guides to the town, which they told him was at the diſtance of a day's journey. That night they halted in a ſmall village, where they were kindly entertained by the poor inhabitants; and in the morning they marched forward for Zempoalla, according to the direction of the guides; tho' their motions were performed with all imaginable caution, as Cortes ſtill doubted the ſincerity of the Indians. In the evening they approached the town, from which twenty Indians, well dreſſed after their faſhion, came forth to receive Cortes, with an apology from their cacique, who was kept at home by a natural infirmity. This was a large city, affording a beautiful proſpect, ſituated between two rivers, and built of ſtone, and the houſes were whitened with a ſort of bright ſhining lime, which exhibited ſuch a noble view at a diſtance, that one of the ſcouts returned to the army, crying aloud, that the walls were of ſilver. The ſquares and ſtreets were filled with an innumerable multitude, drawn together by curioſity; and when the Spaniards entered, the cacique appeared at the gate of his palace, ſupported by ſome of his nobles; for he was ſo monſtrouſly fat, that he could neither ſtand nor move. He was covered with a mantle of fine cotton, adorned with various jewels; he wore pendants in his ears and lips, and when he was brought forwards to ſalute Cortes, his appearance was ſo unweildy and ridiculous, that the Spaniards could hardly maintain that gravity which is the characteriſtic of their nation However, he ſpoke to the purpoſe; and having welcomed his valiant gueſt with well-turned compliments of reſpect, he deſired Cortes to repoſe himſelf after his journey, and he would viſit him in his lodgings, where they would con-

verſe more at leiſure about their mutual intereſt. The troops immediately retired to the quarters which he had provided in ſquare courts, furniſhed with a number of apartments, where they found plenty of proviſion and all neceſſaries: then the cacique ſent a preſent to the general, of gold and other curioſities, to the value of 2000 peſoes; and afterwards came in perſon with a ſplendid retinue, carried in a chair, on the ſhoulders of the chief of his family. Cortes went forth to receive him, attended by his captains; and, retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the Spaniſh king, whoſe ambaſſador he was; and told him, the deſign of his coming was to redreſs wrongs, puniſh violence, and eſpouſe the cauſe of juſtice and reaſon. He artfully touched this ſtring, in order to wake the Indian's reſentment againſt Motezuma, that he might gradually diſcover what advantages could be reaped from his indignation: and indeed the words were no ſooner pronounced, than the cacique changed colour: he began to ſigh like one afraid of diſcloſing his affliction; but, his reſentment prevailing over every other conſideration, he broke forth into bitter lamentations, importing, that he and all the neighbouring caciques groaned under the tyranny of Motezuma, who oppreſſed his tributaries, and cauſed himſelf to be adored by his ſubjects, as if he was one of their gods. Not that he wiſhed to engage Cortes in a quarrel with ſuch a powerful emperor, whoſe power was irreſiſtible; but he could not help complaining to his friends, of the miſerable oppreſſion he was obliged to endure. Hernan gave him to underſtand, that, in a righteous cauſe, the Spaniards would little regard the power of Motezuma; but at preſent he was on his march to Quiabiſlan, where thoſe who were injured and oppreſſed ſhould find him always ready to redreſs their wrongs; and,

in

in the mean time, he might assure his friends and confederates, that he would willingly undertake their defence. This was the subject of their conversation: after which the cacique took his leave, extremely well satisfied; nor was Cortes less pleased at the prospect of such a powerful alliance, with which he hoped to strengthen his interest in the prosecution of his scheme.

CHAP. IX.

He proceeds to Quiabislan; seizes Motezuma's comissaries; makes a strong confederacy of the Indian caciques; builds the town of Vera Cruz, and receives an embassy from the emperor of Mexico.

WHEN the army was ready to march, they found four hundred Indians of burthen, called tamenes, provided by the cacique, as porters to carry the baggage and provisions, and help to conduct the artillery. The country was pleasant and fertile, partly covered with trees, and partly cultivated in corn fields. They stayed all night at a little village that was deserted; and next morning they arrived at Quiabislan, strongly situated upon a rocky eminence, that rendered it very difficult of access: nevertheless they entered without opposition; nor did they perceive any person in the place, until, coming to a square in which were the temples, fifteen Indians handsomely dressed came out with their perfuming pans, making abundance of abject cringes, and marks of submission which denoted fear. Cortes ordered them to be civilly treated, and presented with some glass beads; so that, recovering their spirits, they informed him that the cacique had withdrawn himself, in order to avoid a war; as he neither chose to deny them admittance, nor trust his

perſon to armed troops whom he did not know; and that the inhabitants could not be prevented from following his example. As for themſelves, they had ſtaid to know the intention of the ſtrangers; and now they were convinced of their quiet and honourable diſpoſition, they would communicate the news to the fugitives, who might return peaceably to their houſes, and ſerve them with all fidelity and obedience: accordingly, ſome families came back that very night, and in a little time the town was filled with its inhabitants. In a few days the cacique himſelf returned, and was introduced by the cacique of Zempoalla, who made an handſome excuſe for his friend; and the converſation turned upon the deſpotiſm of Motezuma, againſt whom he of Quiabiſlan inveighed with great bitterneſs, as a monſter, who not only impoveriſhed them by the impoſition of taxes, but likewiſe robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whoſe blood he ſtained the altars of his gods, after having ſacrificed their honour to more abominable purpoſes. Their diſcourſe was interrupted by the entrance of three Indians, who having whiſpered ſomething in a ſeeming fright, the two caciques changed colour, and haſtily retired with marks of terror and confuſion: their diſorder was owing to the arrival of ſix commiſſaries of Motezuma, who paſſed the quarters of the Spaniards in great pomp, adorned with plumes and pendants, and attended by a number of ſervants, or inferior officers, who cooled them with fans made of feathers. Cortes went to the gate to ſee them, while they proceeded with ſuch inſolent and contemptuous looks, that the ſoldiers were provoked, and would have chaſtiſed them on the ſpot, had not they been reſtrained by the general, who contented himſelf with ſending Donna Marina, properly guarded, to know the cauſe of their coming. By theſe means he underſtood, that, after having ſeated themſelves

in

in the town-houſe, they ſummoned the caciques to appear before them, and, reprimanding them ſharply for entertaining ſtrangers who were enemies to their king, they demanded, over and above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be ſacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for the crime they had committed.

Cortes, having received this intelligence, ordered ſome ſoldiers to bring the caciques to his preſence, when, telling them that he knew the inhuman purpoſe of the commiſſaries, which he would not ſuffer them to obey, he commanded them without fail to aſſemble their people and ſeize the Mexicans, and leave the reſt to his conduct and diſcretion. At firſt they were terrified at the propoſal, with which they abſolutely refuſed to comply, until Cortes repeating his order with a reſolute and peremptory tone, they actually went and executed his command upon the miniſters of Motezuma, whom they confined by the necks in a kind of wooden pillory, from which they ſuffered equal pain and diſgrace, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the people, who demanded that they might either die the death of traitors, or be ſacrificed to the gods without delay. Cortes, however, would not grant their requeſt, tho' it was enforced by the caciques; but, having ſecured them with a guard of Spaniſh ſoldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive ſome method for extricating himſelf from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Motezuma, and he thought it a point of the higheſt conſequence to maintain and augment the party which he had already formed againſt that prince; and therefore, he reſolved to do ſomething of which he could make a merit with the Mexican emperor, without giving the caciques any reaſon to think him cold or remiſs in their intereſt. In conſequence of theſe reflections,

he, at midnight, ſent privately for two of the priſoners, and having treated them with great courteſy, told them they were now at liberty, and as they had received their freedom ſolely from him, they might aſſure their prince, he would endeavour to releaſe the reſt of their companions, and make the caciques ſenſible of their misdemeanor; for, he was deſirous of peace, and of deſerving, by his reſpectful conduct, that civility from Motezuma, which was due to the ambaſſador of ſuch a mighty prince. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal aſtoniſhment and pleaſure; but, as they durſt not ſet out on their journey for fear of being killed or taken, the Spaniſh ſoldiers conducted them to the bay, and one of the boats convoyed them beyond the diſtrict of Zempoalla. In the morning the caciques came to Cortes, very much troubled at the eſcape of the two priſoners, and he received the news with ſigns of ſurpriſe and concern, blaming their want of care and vigilance: but, that no accident of that kind might happen for the future, he ſaid, he would take the care upon himſelf of guarding the reſt, whom he forthwith ordered to be carried on board of the fleet, where, by his private directions, they were kindly entertained. Thus, without loſing the confidence of the caciques, he conferred an obligation upon Motezuma, whoſe power was ſo great, that he did not chuſe wantonly to provoke his reſentment.

The moderation and beneficence of the Spaniards towards their allies was quickly divulged among all the neighbouring diſtricts, and the caciques of Zempoalla and Quiabiſlan communicated to all their friends the happineſs they enjoyed under the protection of thoſe invincible people, who had delivered them from ſlavery and impoſition. The common people believed the gods were come down to dart lightening againſt Motezuma, and the name of liberty

berty ſounded ſo charming in the ears of the oppreſſed, that, in a few days, Cortes was viſited at Quiabiſlan by above thirty caciques of the mountain in ſight, on which were numerous ſettlements of a ruſtic people called Totonaques, who made their ſubmiſſion, ſwore fealty to the king of Spain, and offered to aſſiſt him with an incredible number of armed Indians againſt the tyranny of Motezuma.

This confederacy being formed, and authenticated in the moſt ſolemn manner, thoſe chiefs retired to their reſpective places of habitation. Hernan Cortes reſolved to ſettle the corporation of Villa-rica de la Vera Cruz, which hitherto had moved with the army, tho' under proper diſtinctions as a republic: for this purpoſe he pitched upon a plain, between Quiabiſlan and the ſea, of a fertile ſoil, well watered, and abounding with timber, proper for the purpoſes of building. They began, by laying the foundation of a church, and the handicraft-men among the Spaniards being aſſiſted by the induſtry and ſkill of their Indian friends, the houſes were ſoon reared, and the town encompaſſed with a wall of mud, ſufficient to defend it againſt all methods of attack uſed in that country.

Motezuma being informed that the cacique of Zempoalla, who was a ſuſpected perſon, had admitted the ſtrangers into his town, reſolved to aſſemble his forces, not only to chaſtiſe this rebellious tributary, but alſo to go in perſon againſt the Spaniards, whom he deſtined as a ſacrifice to his gods: but his preparations for this enterprize were prevented by the arrival of the two Indians whom Cortes had releaſed. Theſe having given an account of their impriſonment, and of the courteous treatment and meſſage they had received from the Spaniſh general, Motezuma's anger was appeaſed, and he determined to have recourſe again to the expedient of negotiation, and try to divert

Cortes

Cortes from his design, by a new embassy and present; for, in the midst of his pride, he remembered and trembled at the portentous signals of heaven, and the unfavourable responses of the oracles which he consulted.

The settlement and fortress of Vera Cruz was almost perfected when this embassy was brought by two nephews of the emperor, attended by four ancient caciques, who served as counsellors to their youth and inexperience. Their retinue was very splendid: the present, consisting of gold, feathers and cotton, was worth two thousand pieces of eight; and the message delivered to Cortes was to this effect: That Motezuma, being informed of the insolence of the two caciques who had committed such an outrage upon his officers, resolved to come in person with a powerful army to chastise them; but, as he was unwilling to break with the Spaniards, to whose captain he was obliged for the release of his two servants, he requested them to leave the territories of his rebellious chiefs, that they might run no risque of sharing their punishment; desiring, at the same time, that the general would set the rest of his officers at liberty, and desist from his design of coming to Mexico, because the dangers and impediments attending such a journey were unsurmountable. Cortes received the embassy and presents with great respect, and, having ordered the four imprisoned officers to be brought ashore, delivered them to the ambassadors; observing, that he was highly pleased with such an opportunity of shewing his regard to the emperor; that, tho' he could not help owning the insolence of the caciques, he thought it in some measure excusable, from the extravagancy of the officers themselves, who, not contented with the ordinary tribute, had, of their own authority, demanded twenty Indians for their sacrifices: a proposal of such diabolical cruelty, as could not but be shocking

ſhocking to the Spaniards, who were bred in another religion, of greater piety and regard to human nature: that finding himſelf obliged to the caciques, for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, after he was diſcourteouſly abandoned by Tentile and Pilpatoe, he could not help interceding with Motezuma in their behalf, eſpecially as they, together with the Totanaque mountaineers, were now in a ſpecial manner under his protection: that when he ſhould be ſo happy as to appear in the emperor's preſence, he would communicate the importance of his embaſſy; and, in the mean time, he would pay no regard to impediments and dangers, which ſerved only to whet the reſolution of the Spaniards, who were accuſtomed to ſeek glory amidſt the greateſt difficulties. With this reſolute anſwer, and a preſent of Caſtilian trifles to their monarch, the ambaſſadors went away, not a little diſſatisfied at the obſtinacy of Cortes, who from this circumſtance acquired freſh reputation among the nations: for the Indians were now fully perſuaded, that he muſt be ſome deity whoſe friendſhip the haughty Motezuma ſollicited with ſuch preſents and ſubmiſſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cortes makes an expedition to Zempazingo, and reconciles the natives of that place to the Zempoallans; demoliſhes the idols at Zempoalla, and converts the temple into a Chriſtian church; returns to Vera Cruz, and ſends diſpatches to Spain.

SOON after this occurrence, the cacique of Zempoalla, coming to Vera Cruz, told Cortes, that now the time was come for his defending their country from the Mexicans, ſome troops of whom had arrived at Zempazingo, a ſtrong place, at the diſtance of two days journey, from whence they already made excurſions into his diſtrict, where they deſtroyed the corn fields, and committed other acts of hoſtility.——Hernan, thinking it was incumbent upon him to protect his new allies, and neceſſary to ſtrike a terror into Motezuma's army, of which he ſuppoſed theſe were ſome advanced parties, deſired the cacique to provide Indians of burthen for the baggage and artillery; and, having made a proper diſpoſition, began his march immediately, at the head of four hundred Spaniards. As he paſſed by Zempoalla, he was joined by two thouſand armed Indians, whom the cacique had aſſembled to ſerve under him in this expedition: that night he quartered his troops in ſome houſes within three leagues of Zempazingo, and next day, in the afternoon, he diſcovered the town, ſituated upon the top of a ſmall hill, among ſteep rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered the acceſs very difficult. Nevertheleſs, his men overcame the ſteepneſs of the road, without having met with any reſiſtance; and he was preparing to attack the place in ſeveral parts, when he was prevented by a deputation from the town, of eight ancient prieſts, clothed

clothed in black mantles, gathered and platted about the neck, with a piece hanging loose in form of a hood that kept the head warm. These venerable ambassadors, whose long hair was clotted, and whose faces and hands were stained with the blood of human sacrifices, approached the general with marks of the most abject submission, and, in a suppliant whining tone, asked by what offence the poor inhabitants had merited the indignation of a people so famed for clemency and goodness. Cortes answered, that he had no design against the inhabitants, but came to chastise the Mexican soldiers quartered in the town, who had infested the territories of his friends. To this declaration the priests replied, that the Mexican troops, who were in garrison at Zempazingo, had retired farther up into the country, as soon as they heard that Motezuma's officers were imprisoned at Quiabislan, and that he was misled by the false suggestions of the Zempoallans, who, being their inveterate enemies, had feigned this story to make him the instrument of their revenge. Cortes immediately discovered the truth of this allegation, by the confusion and frivolous evasions of the Zempoallan officers; and, being nettled at the deceit, which was a reflection upon his penetration, he sent for the Indians, who had by this time begun to plunder and make prisoners, and they being brought into his presence loaded with booty, and followed by the miserable inhabitants, crying aloud for justice, he ordered them to unbind their captives, and restore the goods to the right owners; and publicly told the Zempoallan captains, in very angry terms, that they had incurred the penalty of death by their presumption, in engaging him by deceit as a party in their revenge. However, he suffered himself to be appeased by the intercession of his own officers, whom he had before hand instructed for the purpose, tho' in truth he durst not venture

to

to proceed rigorously, for fear of losing the friendship of his new allies. After having reprimanded the Zempoallans in this manner, he commanded them to lodge without the town, while he himself entering with his Spaniards, was received as a deliverer, and visited by the cacique, accompanied by others of the neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themselves as subjects of the king of Spain. His next task was to adjust the differences between these Indians and the Zempoallans, which had begun about the division of their districts, and grown to a most rancorous pitch of animosity. He formed a scheme for compromising the affair, and, having made them friends, returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his interest and reputation highly advanced by the issue of this expedition, which he had too credulously undertaken; hereby demonstrating himself a consummate politician, in being able to convert even his own errors to the advantage of his design.

In his return, he found the cacique of Zempoalla waiting for him, at some distance from his town, with great store of provision for the refreshment of the army; and perceiving that chief was ashamed at his conduct, by the confusion of his speech and countenance, he assured him he had laid aside his displeasure; and they went together into the town, where the cacique had provided a present of eight virgins curiously adorned, among whom was his own niece, whom he recommended as a wife to Cortes, that their friendship might be strengthened by the ties of blood. The general thanked him kindly for this proof of his sincerity and affection, but gave him to understand, that it was not lawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman who differed from him in point of religion; and took this opportunity of declaiming against their idolatry and superstition, with more zeal than discretion. About this time

the

the Zempoallans were aſſembled on one of their moſt ſolemn feſtivals, in order to celebrate a ſacrifice of human blood, which being performed with horrible ceremonies, the unhappy victims were cut in pieces, and ſold to the people as ſacred food. Cortes, being informed of this tranſaction, was ſo much tranſported with indignation, that, forgetting every other motive, he inſtantly commanded the ſoldiers to arm and bring before him the cacique, and principal Indians who uſed to attend him: with theſe he proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops; and the prieſts, hearing of his approach, came running to the gate, calling, with loud and hideous outcries, the people to the defence of their gods. Some troops of armed Indians, whom they had provided in caſe of any diſturbance, immediately poſted themſelves in the avenues of the temple; and Hernan Cortes, ſeeing the inhabitants aſſembling in great numbers, ordered Donna Marina to tell them aloud, that on the firſt arrow they ſhould let fly, he would cauſe the throats of the cacique, and all the principal Indians who were in his power to be cut, and afterwards permit his ſoldiers to puniſh their preſumption with fire and ſword. The cacique, trembling at this dreadful remonſtrance, commanded them to lay down their arms and retire; and they obeying with the utmoſt expedition, Cortes began to declaim againſt the barbarous abſurdity of their religion, with great emphaſis and elocution, till, being gradually wrought up to a degree of enthuſiaſtic fervour, he propoſed that they ſhould immediately aſcend the ſteps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands: and when they proſtrated themſelves upon the ground, declaring, with tears and lamentations, that they would ſuffer all extremities of torture, rather than commit ſuch impious ſacrilege, he ordered the ſoldiers to perform the taſk, and in a twinkling the idols were flung down and broken

to

to pieces, to the unſpeakable horror of the Indians, who ſtood motionleſs, expecting to ſee the immediate vengeance of heaven; but, perceiving how unable their gods were to defend themſelves, their ſuperſtition was changed into contempt, and they themſelves aſſiſted the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their deities. The walls were immediately cleanſed, and the temple being purified, was converted into a Chriſtian church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in which maſs was next day celebrated with great ſolemnity.

The Spaniards, having taken this ſtep towards the reformation of their allies, returned to Vera Cruz, where they were reinforced with ten ſoldiers and two horſes, brought thither from Cuba in a veſſel commanded by Franciſco de Saucedo, in company with Luis Marin: and this ſmall addition was, at that time, reckoned a conſiderable ſupply. By theſe gentlemen the general learned, that Velaſquez had obtained the title of king's lieutenant of the iſland, with a power to make new diſcoveries and ſettlements; which new honour had augmented his pride, and rendered him altogether implacable againſt Cortes, whom he reſolved to perſecute with all his might. This information haſtened Hernan's reſolution of laying his proceedings before the king; and accordingly the council of Vera Cruz wrote a letter, containing an account of the expedition, and a detail of the injurious behaviour of Velaſquez towards Hernan Cortes, in conſideration of whoſe great merit, they beſought his majeſty to grant him a commiſſion of captain-general, that he might act for the ſervice of his country, without any dependance upon the governor of Cuba. Nor did Cortes himſelf omit explaining, on this occaſion, the foundation of the hope he entertained of reducing the Mexican empire to the obedience of his majeſty, and the diſpoſition he was making to contend with Motezuma, by the help

help of his own revolted ſubjects. Theſe diſpatches being finiſhed, were committed to the care of Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero, and Franciſco Montejo, who embarked for Spain on the 16th of July, 1519, on board of the beſt ſhip of the fleet, piloted by Antonio de Alaminos, and carrying as an offering to his majeſty all the gold, jewels and curioſities they had acquired, together with ſome Indians, who voluntarily undertook the voyage, and a particular preſent from Hernan to his father Martin Cortes.

CHAP. XI.

A conſpiracy is formed againſt Cortes, who orders the ſhips to be deſtroyed; he begins his march for Mexico; ſtays ſeveral days at Zocothlan; proceeds to Xacazingo, and ſends ambaſſadors to Tlaſcala.

WHILE the general was employed in making preparations for this ſervice, ſome of the ſoldiers and ſailors privately concerted the means of eſcaping to Cuba, with intelligence to Velaſquez, who might ſend out cruizers to make prize of the ſhip: and, for this purpoſe, they had made ſure of a veſſel and laid in proviſions for the voyage; when on the very night they had appointed for their flight, one of the conſpirators, touched with the enormity of their deſign, went and revealed the whole ſcheme to Cortes, who took his meaſures with ſuch ſecrecy and diſcretion, that all the accomplices were ſeized on board of the veſſel, and forthwith confeſſed the crime of which they were accuſed. The general finding it abſolutely neceſſary to inflict an exemplary puniſhment, they were brought to trial: two ſoldiers, the ringleaders of the conſpiracy, were condemned to die, other two were whipped as old offenders, the principal mariner of the ſhip was ſentenced

ſentenced to loſe one of his feet, and the reſt were pardoned as people who had been drawn in and deceived.

This conſpiracy gave great uneaſineſs to Cortes, who conſidered it as the conſequence of paſt diſturbances, and the ſpark of a flame which, if not extinguiſhed, might prove very miſchievous in the proſecution of his ſcheme: his mind was agitated by various uneaſy reflections, and after having revolved a number of different expedients, he formed a reſolution which evinced the greatneſs of his ſoul; this was to deſtroy the ſhips, that the ſoldiers, being bereft of all means to eſcape, might act with more ardour and unanimity, and enable him to conquer or die. He communicated this ſcheme to his confidents, who, by ſeaſonable gifts and inſinuations, exerted themſelves among the men in ſuch a manner, that the ſailors themſelves unanimouſly declared the ſhips would founder in conſequence of the damage they had ſuſtained: ſo that Cortes ſeemed to act according to their own dictates, when he ordered them to bring aſhore the ſails, tackling and iron, together with all the ſerviceable planks, and to ſink all the great veſſels, reſerving only the boats for fiſhing; and by this deſtruction of the fleet, he gained a reinforcement to his army, of above an hundred men, who acted as pilots and mariners on board.

Having performed this action, which was truly worthy of his heroic ſpirit, he with his officers concerted meaſures for purſuing the expedition: he left one hundred and fifty men with two horſes in garriſon at Vera Cruz, under the command of Juan de Eſcalante, whom he recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the neighbouring caciques; and, aſſembling his whole force at Zempoalla, muſtered five hundred foot, fifteen horſe, with ſix pieces of cannon. The

cacique

cacique had provided two hundred tamenes and a conſiderable number of armed troops as auxiliaries, out of which, Hernan picked four hundred men, including forty or fifty noble Indians, whom, tho' he treated them as his own ſoldiers, he carried as hoſtages for the ſecurity of the church of Zempoalla, the Spaniards at Vera Cruz and his own page, whom he left with the cacique to learn the Mexican language, in caſe he ſhould loſe his interpreters. All things being in readineſs for the march, an expreſs arrived from Juan de Eſcalante, with advice that ſome ſhips were ſeen hovering on the coaſt; and Cortes went immediately to Vera Cruz, leaving the command of the troops to Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval. At his arrival, he perceived one of the veſſels at anchor at a conſiderable diſtance from the land, and on the ſhore were four Spaniards, conſiſting of an eſcrivano and witneſſes, who delivered to Cortes a notification, containing in ſubſtance, that Franciſco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had, by virtue of an order from the king, embarked on board of three ſhips, two hundred and ſeventy Spaniards, under the command of Alonzo de Pineda, and taken poſſeſſion of that land on the ſide of the river of Panuco, and therefore he ſent intimation to require of Cortes that he ſhould not make any ſettlements that way. Hernan told him, he did not underſtand theſe forms of law, but would meet the captain and adjuſt the affair in an amicable manner, for the ſervice of the king, to whom they equally owed allegiance. But the notary refuſing to carry this meſſage, and inſiſting in a diſreſpectful manner upon having a direct anſwer to his notification, Cortes ordered them to be ſeized, and, concealing himſelf and his men among ſome ſand-hills near the ſhore, ſtayed all night and part of the next day, in hopes that others would land from

the ſhip: at length he directed four of his men to put on the cloaths of the priſoners, and to go down to the ſea-ſide, where they ſhould make ſignals with their cloaks. In conſequence of this ſtratagem, twelve or fourteen men, armed with fire-arms and croſs-bows, rowed towards them in a boat, and as they approached, the four men gradually retired, but, all of them refuſed to land, except three of the leaſt conſiderate, who were immediately taken, and their companions returned on board the veſſel, which immediately weighed anchor and ſtood to ſea; while Cortes returned to Zempoalla with this ſmall recruit of ſeven Spaniards, which was counted a very conſiderable reinforcement. In a few days after his return, he drew up the army in order, forming a body of Spaniards for the van-guard, and another of Indians for the rear, commanded by Mamegi, Theuche and Tamilli, cacique's of the mountains: the ſtrongeſt tamenes were reſerved for the artillery, and the reſt ordered to take charge of the baggage. In this diſpoſition, and furniſhed with an advanced party to reconnoitre, they began their march on the 16th day of Auguſt, and in their route, were kindly entertained at Jalapa, Socochima, and Texucla, towns belonging to their confederacy. The firſt difficulty they met with in their road to Mexico, was the rough part of the mountain, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in very cold and rainy weather, from the inclemency of which, the ſoldiers had no ſhelter: and their proviſions began to fail when they reached the ſummit, where they found a temple and a great quantity of wood; but, here they made no ſtay, becauſe on the other ſide they deſcried ſome villages, to which they haſtened their march, and the toil of their diſpatch was recompenced with refreſhment and accommodation.

Here began the large and populous province of Zocothlan,

cothlan, the cacique of which reſided in a city of the ſame name, ſituated in the valley at the foot of the mountain. To this prince, Cortes ſent notice of his arrival and deſign, by two of the Zempoallans, who quickly returned with a favourable anſwer; and in a little time, they diſcovered the city, which made a magnificent figure with towers and edifices, that ſeemed white at a diſtance, and being by one of the ſoldiers compared to Caſtel-Blanco in Portugal, it for ſome time retained that appellation. The cacique, with a numerous attendance, came forth and received the general with a kind of forced civility: the quarters provided for the troops were incommodious, the proviſions ſcanty, ſo that it plainly appeared he was not very well pleaſed with his gueſts; but Cortes prudently ſtifled his reſentment, that he might give the Indian no handle to engage him in hoſtilities, which might retard his journey, or prejudice his aim. Next day, the cacique, whoſe name was Olindeth, repeated his viſit to Cortes, who having received him with great civility, among other queſtions, aſked whether he was ſubject to the king of Mexico. The other readily anſwered, "Is there any man upon earth who is "not a ſlave to Motezuma?" When Hernan ſcornfully replied, that he himſelf, and thoſe who accompanied him, obeyed another king, who had many ſubjects more powerful than Motezuma, the cacique, without paying much attention to theſe words, proceeded to diſplay the grandeur of his emperor: he ſaid, the provinces under his dominion were not to be reckoned, that he reſided in an impregnable city, founded in the midſt of lakes, acceſſible only by dikes or cauſeways, with drawbridges over ſeveral openings, through which there was a communication of the water. Then he expatiated upon the immenſity of his riches, the ſtrength of his armies, and the miſery of his ene-

mies, above twenty thouſand of whom were yearly ſacrificed on the altars of his gods. Cortes eaſily perceived the drift of this diſcourſe, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, in order to deter him from proceeding: but, without ſeeming to penetrate into his deſign, anſwered that he was already well informed of the grandeur of Motezuma; that his own embaſſy was peaceable, his men being appointed rather as a mark of authority, than a martial-guard: but, nevertheleſs, he deſired peace without being afraid of war; for, the moſt inconſiderable Spaniard was able to cope with a whole army of Indians: that he would never draw the ſword without provocation; but, if compelled to acts of hoſtility, he would deſtroy his enemies with fire and ſword: for, nature would aſſiſt him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning, in defence of the cauſe of religion and truth. This declaration, which has the air of a ridiculous rhodomontade, was extremely well calculated for the intellects of the Indians, who were confounded and overawed at the intrepidity of the Spaniards, which they attributed to ſomething ſupernatural.

The cacique owned to father Bartolome de Olmedo, that the Chriſtians were of a ſuperior race of men, that their reaſons were ſurpriſingly convincing, and their valour invincible: with theſe ſentiments, he entirely altered his conduct, and plentifully ſupplied them with all neceſſaries for the ſpace of five days, during which they ſtayed in Zocothlan; as for the general, he treated him with infinite reſpect, preſented him with four female ſlaves, and offered to ſupply him with twenty noble Indians as guides for the army. Notwithſtanding theſe civilities, he was ſtill at heart a ſlave to Motezuma, and, by his direction, adviſed Cortes to continue his march by the way of Cholula, a fer-

tile country, well peopled with inhabitants, who, being wholly inclined to merchandize and the arts of peace, would plentifully ſupply his troops in their paſſage; whereas ſhould he take the road of Tlaſcala, he muſt march through a country poſſeſſed by a bloody-minded people, addicted to cruelty and war. This advice, however, was rejected in conſequence of the information Cortes received from the Zempoallans of his army, who aſſured him privately, that the Cholulans were a faithleſs people, wholly devoted to Motezuma, whoſe troops were quartered in all the towns of their diſtrict: whereas the Tlaſcalans, tho' numerous and warlike, were friends to the Totonaques and Zempoallans, and continually at war with Motezuma; for which reaſons, they counſelled him to march through that province, where he would be well treated, as their ally and confederate. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he proceeded on his march to the province of Tlaſcala that bordered upon Zocothlan, and, during the firſt days, nothing conſiderable occurred; but afterwards, hearing the country was in arms, he reſolved to halt in a ſmall town called Xacazingo, until he ſhould be better informed of their intention.

Tlaſcala, being about fifty leagues in circumference, abounded with inhabitants, though the land was mountainous and uneven, and the town, conſiſting of houſes rather durable than handſome, was built upon different eminences, partly for defence, and partly with a view to leave the plain for the purpoſes of cultivation. At firſt the people were governed by kings, till, weary of tyranny, they ſhook off the yoke, and formed themſelves into a commonwealth: they divided the towns into a certain number of diſtricts, and each ſent a repreſentative to Tlaſcala, where they conſtituted a ſenate, the reſolutions of which the whole province obeyed.

Under this form of government, they had long maintained themſelves againſt the kings of Mexico, and were now at their higheſt pitch of power; for, the cruelty of Motezuma had augmented the number of their confederates, among whom they reckoned the Otomies, a warlike nation, famed alike for valour and barbarity.

To this republic Cortes ſent four of the chief Zempoallans, who were amply inſtructed by Donna Marina and Aguilar, how to harangue the ſenate in demanding a paſſage for the Spaniards through the territories of Tlaſcala. They immediately aſſumed the enſigns of ambaſſadors; each putting on his ſhoulder a wreathed cotton tippet knotted at the ends, bearing in the right hand a large arrow, and on the left arm a target of ſhell: when the purport of the embaſſy is war, the feathers of the arrow are red, but white when their errand is peace. By theſe ſymbols they were known and reſpected on the high roads, tho', if they turned aſide, they forfeited their privileges and immunities.

In this manner the four envoys of Cortes entered Tlaſcala, where they were lodged in a houſe ſet apart for the reception of ambaſſadors, and next day were introduced into the ſenate, the members of which roſe from their little chairs, called yopales, to bid them welcome. The ambaſſadors entered with their arrows raiſed on high, and their tippets on their heads in token of extraordinary veneration; then, having paid their reſpects to the ſenate, they walked leiſurely to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled with their eyes fixed upon the ground, waiting for permiſſion to ſpeak. When the eldeſt ſenator deſired them to declare their buſineſs, they ſeated themſelves upon their legs, and he who was pitched upon as the orator expreſſed himſelf to this effect.

" Noble

"Noble republic, valiant Tlaſcalans, the lord "of Zempoalla and the mountain caciques, your "friends and allies, wiſhing you health abundance, "and the deſtruction of your enemies, ſend us to "give you notice that an invincible race of men "are arrived from the eaſt, and ſeem to be more "than human; for, they ſail upon palaces, and "wield the thunder and lightning: yet they wor-"ſhip an Almighty Being ſuperior to our gods, who "is offended at the ſacrifices of human blood. "Their general is ambaſſador from a powerful "prince, who deſires to reform the abuſes of our "country, and repreſs the tyranny of Motezuma: "he has already reſcued our provinces from op-"preſſion, and as he means to paſs through your "territories, in his way to Mexico, he deſires to "know wherein you have been aggrieved by the "tyrant, that he may redreſs your wrongs. We "have experienced his valour and beneficence, and, "in the name of our caciques and confederates, "admoniſh and requeſt you to entertain thoſe "ſtrangers as the friends of your allies: for, their "captain aſſures you, that he comes in a peaceable "manner, demanding nothing but a free paſſage "through your country, in order to proſecute his "march, and fulfil his upright intentions." The ſpeech being thus concluded, the four Indians raiſed themſelves upon their knees, and, making a profound reverence to the ſenate, ſat down as before, in expectation of an anſwer. The ſenators, having conferred among themſelves, gave the ambaſſadors to underſtand, that they received the ſalutation of their confederates with all imaginable gratitude; but that they muſt deliberate upon the anſwer to be given to the ſtrangers. Then the Indians retired to their lodging, and the ſenate began to diſcuſs the demand of Cortes, which produced very obſtinate debates: ſome propoſing to comply with

his requeſt, and others inſiſting upon repelling or deſtroying him by force of arms. The chief of thoſe who eſpouſed the pacific opinion was an old ſenator, called Magiſcatzen, of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, importing that an invincible race of men would come from the oriental regions, with ſuch dominion over the elements, that they ſhould found floating cities upon the ſeas, and uſe fire and air to ſubdue the earth: he ſaid theſe ſtrangers were certainly the very people predicted; they came from the eaſt, their arms were fire, they dwelt in floating-houſes, and, by their actions in Tabaſco, they proved themſelves invincible: beſides, their arrival was predicted by ſignals from heaven, which it were impious to diſregard; or, ſuppoſing thoſe ſignals were caſual, and the ſtrangers no other than men like themſelves, they had aſſiſted their allies, and were now come in a peaceable manner, ſoliciting a paſſage through their country, which they could not refuſe, without being guilty of cruelty to men who had never injured them, as well as of diſreſpect to their allies, by whom the ſtrangers were ſo ſtrongly recommended. The ſpeech of Magiſcatzen was received with acclamation and applauſe; when the favourable intention of the ſenate was wholly altered by the interpoſition of Xicotencal their general, a young man of great ferocity and ambition, who, with equal eloquence and vivacity, ridiculed the prophecy, or at leaſt the ſuppoſition of its being verified in the arrival of the Spaniards, whom he repreſented as ordinary men, whoſe veſſels and arms were the effect of human induſtry, whoſe valour was not uncommon, tho' their pride, cruelty, and avarice were intolerable; for they contemned the laws and cuſtoms of the Indians, thirſted after their gold, lived at diſcretion, deſtroyed their temples, and blaſphemed their gods:

with

with reſpect to the ſignals of Heaven, they were always deemed as fore-runners of calamity, and therefore ought to be interpreted as warnings to oppoſe and extirpate thoſe preſumptuous ſtrangers; for which reaſons, he earneſtly begged they would give him leave to aſſemble the forces, and extirpate them at once, as oppreſſors of their country and enemies of their religion. Theſe arguments preponderated with a people trained to war and ambitious of glory: they ordered the general to form the army and try his ſtrength with the Chriſtians, and in the mean time detained the ambaſſadors, intending, ſhould they be worſted, to lay the blame of the war upon the ferocity of their Otomy allies, and uſe the interceſſion of the Zempoallans in procuring peace.

CHAP. XII.

Cortes enters the territories of the Tlaſcalans, with whom he fights an obſtinate battle; they afterwards return to the charge and are repulſed; the Spaniards mutiny and are appeaſed by the ſpeech of Cortes.

THE Spaniards having waited eight days at Xacazingo for the return of his meſſengers, whoſe delay he looked upon as a confirmation of the hoſtile intent of the Tlaſcalans, Cortes reſolved to continue his march towards their city, that he might either diſcover their deſigns, or attack them before they ſhould be joined by their allies. This was a prudent reſolution; for, in all probability, they had not time to guard a ſtrong wall of hewn ſtone, extending from one mountain to another as a bulwark to their territories, through the opening of which he paſſed without oppoſition. It was twenty feet thick, nine feet high, with a parapet upon the top, divided in the middle for an entrance,

which was formed by the two ends circularly croſſing each other for the ſpace of ten paces; and might have been eaſily defended againſt all invaders. The Spaniards, having paſſed it without difficulty, formed themſelves again into a compact body, and continuing their march, diſcovered at a conſiderable diſtance twenty or thirty Indians, who by their plumes appeared to be ſoldiers in the field. Cortes immediately ſent his ſcouts to allure them with ſigns of peace, while he himſelf followed with eight horſe, and ordered his infantry to advance at leiſure, that they might not be out of breath in caſe of emergency. The Indians ſtayed in the ſame place, until the ſix horſe that were detached before the reſt drew near, then they betook themſelves to their heels, until they joined their party, which was at ſome diſtance, when they faced about and ſtood in a poſture of defence. They were immediately attacked by the fourteen horſe united for that purpoſe, and ſtood their ground without flinching, notwithſtanding the damage they received, until they were reinforced by five thouſand Indians, who had lain in ambuſcade: at the ſame time the Spaniſh infantry came up, and the troops formed themſelves into a battalion, to ſuſtain the fury with which the enemy advanced: but at the firſt volley of the fire-arms, which did great execution, they turned their backs, and the Spaniards taking advantage of their confuſion, fell upon them with ſuch reſolution, that in a little time they quitted the field, leaving ſixty men dead and ſome priſoners. Cortes would not allow them to be purſued, but took poſſeſſion of ſome houſes that were in ſight, in which they found proviſions, and paſſed the night. Next day, proceeding on their march, they were oppoſed by a larger body of the enemy, which advanced with great noiſe, and diſcharging a flight of arrows and a great quantity of ſtones from

ſlings,

ſlings, began to retreat, making a kind of running fight. Cortes, perceiving that their retreat was rather the effect of ſtratagem than of fear, followed in cloſe order, until having reached the top of an eminence in the road, he diſcovered a plain on the other ſide, almoſt covered with an army of forty thouſand men, compoſed of various nations diſtinguiſhed by the various colours of their enſigns and plumes. The Spaniards, without being diſcouraged at the ſight of ſuch odds, marched down the hill with a chearful ſecurity, and forming on the even ground below, where the horſes could act, moved on to the attack at the appointed ſignal: the Indians ſtill retired, until ſeeing them at a diſtance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, running furiouſly to occupy the ground on both ſides, then cloſing in a circle, ſurrounded the Spaniards, who found it neceſſary to throw themſelves into the form of an hollow ſquare, in order to ſuſtain the fury of the aſſailants. The air was darkened with arrows, and rent with hideous outcries, an innumerable quantity of darts and ſtones rained upon the Spaniards, and the Indians perceiving the little effect of theſe miſſiles, boldly attacked them with pikes and ſwords. Cortes, breaking in among them with his horſe, trampled under foot all that were in his way, the fire-arms killed them in heaps, the artillery mowed down whole companies, filling their army with death and horror. Numbers were employed, according to the Indian cuſtom, to carry off their killed and wounded; the multitude began to diminiſh, and their fury to abate: then Cortes, ſeeing them fall back, placed his horſe on the wings, and being followed by the foot at a large pace, charged them with redoubled vigour. At firſt, they made a gallant reſiſtance, but the horſes, that ſeemed monſtrous or ſupernatural, threw them into diſorder, ſo that they began

to fly on all ſides, wounding and treading one another under foot, in the confuſion of their flight. During the fray, however, Pedro de Moron being mounted on a mare, engaged himſelf too far, ſo that he was ſurrounded and taken, after having received ſeveral wounds; and tho' he was ſoon releaſed by another party of horſe, the mare was killed, and the Indians had time to cloſe again, and renew the battle. By this time, the Spaniards were tired with action, and began to be dubious of ſucceſs, when, all of a ſudden, the cries of the enemy ceaſed, and this ſilence was ſucceeded by the noiſe of their kettle-drums and horns ſounding a retreat, in obedience to which, they moved ſlowly off, leaving the field to the Chriſtians. It was afterwards known that Xicotencal ordered this retreat to be ſounded, becauſe the greateſt part of his commanders being killed, he would not venture to manage ſuch an army without officers: yet, notwithſtanding their great loſs, they entered their quarters triumphant, becauſe they had not been overcome, and the mare's head was carried as a trophy before the general, who ſent it to Tlaſcala, where it was ſacrificed in one of their temples, with extraordinary ſolemnity. In this battle, nine or ten Spaniſh ſoldiers were wounded, and ſome of the Zempoallans, who did good ſervice on this occaſion, fired by the example of the Spaniards, as well as with reſentment at ſeeing their alliance deſpiſed. Cortes, perceiving a ſmall town on a riſing ground that commanded that country, marched thither, and found abundance of proviſion; but, as there was not ſufficient accommodation for the whole army, the Zempoallans built huts for themſelves, and chearfully raiſed ſome works of earth and faſcines to ſecure the place, which was naturally ſtrong and of difficult acceſs.

Various

Various were the ſentiments of the Tlaſcalans upon the event of this day's engagement. The death of their captains produced a public lamentation: ſome cried out for peace with thoſe ſtrangers, who were certainly immortal; Magiſcatzen valued himſelf upon having foreſeen the diſaſter, and repeated the arguments he had formerly uſed in the ſenate: others breathed nothing but menaces, and the continuation of the war, comforting themſelves with the death of the mare. Xicotencal demanded ſupplies for the army, to revenge the loſs they had ſuffered; and one of the confederates arriving at this period, with ten thouſand men, this ſuccour was looked upon as the effect of a particular providence in their behalf, and encouraged them to proſecute the war with freſh vigour. Mean while, the four Zempoallan envoys, having made their eſcape, returned to the Spaniſh camp by different ways, and gave an account of their having been deſtined by the Tlaſcalans as ſacrifices to the god of war, as ſoon as Xicotencal took the field, at which time they were put in cloſe confinement, from whence they had found means to withdraw: and this information had ſuch an effect upon their companions, that Cortes, who wanted to renew his offers of peace, could not find meſſengers to carry the propoſals.

A profound ſilence reigned through the whole country, ſo that the very ſtillneſs was ſuſpicious, and the retreat of Xicotencal had all the marks of an undecided diſpute: he had reaſon, therefore, to maintain his poſt, to the ſtrength of which he had added by new works: yet, foreſeeing the Indians would interpret his inaction into fear, an opinion which it was by no means his intereſt to indulge, he reſolved to ſally from his quarters the very next morning after the battle, in order to reconnoitre the country, gain intelligence, and diſturb

the enemy: which reſolution he in perſon executed with all his horſe, and two hundred foot, equally conſiſting of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He proceeded as far as ſome villages in the road to Tlaſcala, where he found great ſtore of proviſions, and took ſeveral priſoners, from whom he learned that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, in the neighbourhood of the city, employed in recruiting and augmenting the army. Cortes having permitted the Zempoallans, who were now incenſed againſt the Tlaſcalans, to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword, returned to the camp, from whence he ſet at liberty all the priſoners he had made in this excurſion, that they might retain the impreſſion of Spaniſh generoſity; and of thoſe who were taken on the day of battle, he choſe two or three to carry a meſſage to Xicotencal, expreſſing his concern for the loſs he had ſuſtained in the action, which was owing to the obſtinacy of his nation, in rejecting the peaceable requeſt of the Spaniards; and deſiring that they would now liſten to terms of accommodation, otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to deſtroy them root and branch, ſo as to make the name of Tlaſcala a terror to its neighbours. The priſoners departed with this meſſage, promiſing faithfully to return with an anſwer; and indeed few hours elapſed before they kept their word: for, they came back in a bloody condition, having been mangled by order of Xicotencal, for their preſumption in delivering ſuch a charge; to which he anſwered by the ſame meſſengers, that he would at ſun-riſe meet the Chriſtians in the field, when he made no doubt but he ſhould carry them alive to the altars of his gods, on which their blood ſhould be ſacrificed: he, therefore, gave notice of his reſolution that their captain might have time to prepare himſelf; for, he was not accuſtomed to leſſen the glory of his victories, in attacking his enemy.

enemy by ſurprize. Cortes, tho' piqued at the inſolence of this barbarian, would not neglect his advice; on the contrary, at day-break he drew his troops into the field, leaving in the quarters, ſuch a force as he thought neceſſary for their defence, and advancing about half a league, took poſſeſſion of a part where he could receive the enemy with advantage. There he formed his men, ſecuring his flanks with the artillery, and putting himſelf at the head of his horſe, in order to bring ſuccour to every place where it ſhould be wanted: he waited the event with ſuch ſigns of eaſe and ſecurity in his aſpect, as filled the ſoldiers with fortitude and reſolution. The ſcouts in a little time, returned with intelligence that the enemy was upon the march, and preſently their vanguard appeared: the plain began to fill with armed Indians, ſo that the eye could not reach the end of their troops, which covered the whole horizon; their number amounted to above fifty thouſand men, conſiſting of the whole ſtrength of the republic and its allies. They diſplayed a great eagle of gold, the enſign of Tlaſcala, which they never brought into the field except in their greateſt undertakings, and they advanced with equal intrepidity and expedition. When they came within cannon-ſhot, the artillery ſtruck ſuch a terror into them, that they halted for ſome time, divided between fear and indignation; but, their rage prevailing, they ruſhed forward in a throng, until they were near enough to uſe their ſlings and arrows, and then they were a ſecond time ſtopped by the diſcharge of the fire-arms and croſs-bows. The engagement laſted a long time, until the Indians, perceiving the carnage that was made among them by the Spaniards and Zempoallans, who ſtood ſafe in the advantage of their arms and diſpoſition, obeyed the dictates of fury and deſpair, and burſting among them like a torrent,

broke

broke their ranks by meer dint of weight and multitude. There was now occaſion for all the valour of the ſoldiers, all the bravery and conduct of the officers to remedy this misfortune; and indeed they formed again by main force, bearing down all that did not give way to their amazing efforts. At this very juncture, a very great diſturbance was obſerved among the enemy: their troops moved to and fro, dividing and turning their arms againſt each other; till at length they retired together in a tumultuous manner; thoſe who were engaged in the front turning their backs, and flying with precipitation.

It was afterwards known that the cauſe of this diſturbance and retreat was the inſolence of Xicotencal, who upbraided one of the confederate caciques with cowardice, becauſe he did not advance when the reſt were engaged. The Indian chief, who commanded ten thouſand men, replied with equal obloquy, a perſonal challenge enſued, the other caciques eſpouſed the quarrel of their friend, ſo that tumult and uproar prevailed: at length, the confederates retired, and Xicotencal, finding himſelf abandoned by his allies, left the field and the victory to the Spaniards, after having ſeen a vaſt number of his people ſlain upon the ſpot. Tho' Cortes loſt only one ſoldier on this occaſion, ſome of the men returned to the quarters in a melancholy and deſponding humour, produced by the reflection of their having been put into diſorder, and loudly declared that they would not ſacrifice themſelves to the obſtinacy of Cortes, but return of themſelves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to his own ambition and temerity. This ſpirit of mutiny and diſobedience increaſed to ſuch a degree, that Cortes found it neceſſary to aſſemble and harangue the ſoldiers: he obſerved, that they had already vanquiſhed and overthrown the Tlaſcalans,

who,

who, in a little time, would certainly ſue for peace; ſo that they ſhould proceed to Mexico with an additional ſhare of reputation, acquired from the conqueſt of ſuch a warlike people: whereas, ſhould they now attempt to retreat, they muſt forfeit all the hopes of their enterprize, bring themſelves into contempt with their allies, who now looked upon them as invincible, and expoſe themſelves to the enmity of the Tlaſcalans, who, knowing all the paſſes of the country, would undoubtedly haraſs them in their march by attacks and ambuſcades, ſo as to intercept their return, and perhaps effect their total deſtruction. In a word, he exerted his eloquence with ſuch ſucceſs, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow-ſoldiers, our general "is in the right: we cannot now retire without "being inevitably loſt." And his reſolution was applauded by the acclamations of the whole army.

CHAP. XIII.

Xicotencal attacks the Spaniſh quarters by night; his army deſerts him; the republic ſues for peace; another embaſſy arrives from Motezuma; Cortes makes his entrance into Tlaſcala.

THE inhabitants of Tlaſcala, intimidated by the event of the ſecond battle, cried aloud for peace with thoſe ſtrangers, who were certainly invincible and immortal. The ſenate concluded they were magicians, and, reſolving to oppoſe enchantment againſt enchantment, conſulted their own wizzards, who, pretending to have diſcovered the cauſe of their own miſcarriage, affirmed the Spaniards, being the offſpring of the ſun, derived a ſuperior force from the warm and invigorating beams of their father: but, that when he diſappeared in the weſt, that influence ceaſed, and they remained

remained diſpirited and withered like the herbs of the field. They therefore propoſed that the Chriſtians ſhould be attacked by night, and utterly deſtroyed before they could be animated by the riſing ſun. This important intelligence was communicated to Xicotencal by the ſenate, with orders to execute the plan, and he immediately began to make proper diſpoſitions for the action.

Mean while the Spaniards made ſallies to raiſe contributions among the neighbouring villages, driving the detached parties of the enemy before them, tho' they uſed the unarmed natives ſo well as to gain both their good will and proviſion. Cortes was particularly careful in preſerving ſtrict diſcipline: he always kept ſentinels poſted at a diſtance from the quarters: the guards mounted and were relieved with the greateſt regularity; the horſes ſtood ſaddled all night, and the ſoldiers either watched or reſted upon their arms. This preciſion was of the utmoſt conſequence; for, on the night deſtined for the attack projected by the Tlaſcalans, the out ſentinels diſcovered a body of the enemy marching towards their quarters, with unaccuſtomed ſlowneſs and ſilence; and notice being given of their approach, the ſoldiers, without noiſe or confuſion, manned the works, and chearfully waited to give them a warm reception. Xicotencal had brought with him ten thouſand men, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three ſides, and they executed his commands with equal ſpeed and reſolution: but, they met with ſuch a powerful and unexpected reſiſtance, that many fell upon the ſpot, and the reſt were infected with the greater fear, as they had come in full confidence of finding the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Xicotencal was now ſenſible of the deluſion of the ſorcerers; but, his anger animated him to ſuch a pitch of courage, that he returned to the aſſault with redoubled fury:

his

his Indians helping one another to climb over the wall, and one party ſucceeding as another was ſlain, for a conſiderable length of time, during which they ſuffered as much from their own diſorder, as from the arms of the Chriſtians; till at length, the general finding it impracticable to carry his point, ordered the ſignal to be given for withdrawing his men. But Hernan Cortes, who kept a watchful eye over every circumſtance, no ſooner perceived them ſlackening in the attack and retiring from the wall, than he ſent out part of his infantry and all his horſe, furniſhed with breaſt plates full of bells, to charge the retreating Indians, who were ſo terrified at the unuſual noiſe, that they fled in confuſion leaving a conſiderable number of dead and ſome wounded, whom they could not carry off. This victory was obtained with the loſs of only one Zempoallan: a circumſtance altogether ſurprizing, conſidering the innumerable heaps of arrows, darts, and ſtones that were found within the intrenchments.

The news of this action no ſooner reached Tlaſcala, than the inhabitants with one voice demanded peace, and juſtice againſt the magicians who had deceived them. The ſenate aſſembling, unanimouſly agreed to puniſh the impoſtors, two of whom were immediately ſacrificed to their gods, and to implore forgiveneſs of thoſe ſtrangers, whom they now certainly believed to be the celeſtial men mentioned in their prophecy. In the mean time, a meſſenger was ſent to inform Xicotencal of the ſenate's reſolution, and commanded him to deſiſt from all further operations of war. This general, however, exaſperated againſt the Spaniards, from whom he longed to retrieve his honour, abſolutely refuſed to comply with this command; and reſolved to aſſault the enemy a ſecond time by night, after he ſhould have informed himſelf of the ſtrength and nature of their fortifications. For

this

this purpoſe, he employed forty ſoldiers to enter the Spaniſh quarters among the peaſants of the neighbourhood, who reſorted thither to exchange proviſions for baubles; and theſe ſpies ſpent the greateſt part of the morning among the Chriſtians, unſuſpected, until a Zempoallan, who had perceived one of them examining the fortifications very narrowly, communicated his ſuſpicion to Cortes, who immediately ordered him to be ſeized and put to the torture, when he made an ample confeſſion, in conſequence of which, his confederates were apprehended, and the whole ſcheme was diſcovered. The general, thinking it neceſſary to act with rigour on this occaſion, ordered, that of fifteen who ſeemed the moſt obſtinate, ſome ſhould loſe an hand, others be deprived of their thumbs, and diſmiſſed to tell Xicotencal that he was prepared for his coming, and had ſent thoſe ſpies alive, that he might not loſe their information concerning the Spaniſh works.

The Indian army was ſtruck with horrour and aſtoniſhment at this bloody ſpectacle, and their meſſage made a deep impreſſion on the mind of their general, who now believed, in good earneſt, that the Chriſtians could not have penetrated this deſign, without ſome ſupernatural intelligence. While he ruminated on this reflection, he was overtaken by ſeveral miniſters, who, by the authority of the ſenate, diveſted him of the ſupreme command, on account of his inſolence and diſobedience: and he was immediately deſerted by his captains and men, who being already overwhelmed with conſternation, diſperſed different ways, leaving him to return to Tlaſcala in the capacity of a private ſenator.

All that night, and the next day, the Spaniards expected an attack; but, on the ſecond morning, the advanced ſentinels diſcovered a number of loaded

loaded Indians, coming along the road of Tlaſcala. There were four perſons of rank, adorned with white feathers in token of peace, and followed by thirty tamenes loaded with proviſion. As they approached, they halted from time to time as afraid to advance, bowing their bodies and touching the earth with their hands, which they afterwards applied to their lips, as ſignals of humility and reſpect.

Donna Marina, appearing upon the wall, aſked in their own language, from whom and for what purpoſe they came? and when they anſwered, "From the ſenate and republic of Tlaſcala, to "treat of peace;" they were permitted to enter. Cortes received them with great gravity and ſtate, and they having repeated their proſtrations and performed their fumigations, delivered their embaſſy, conſiſting of apologies for what was paſt, laying the blame of the war upon the ferocious diſpoſition of the Otomies and Chontales their allies; and ſuing for peace in the name of the ſenate and inhabitants of Tlaſcala, who earneſtly requeſted that he would immediately march into their city, where they ſhould be ſerved and reſpected as children of the ſun and brothers of the gods. Hernan, with an affected ſeverity in his countenance, deſired they would tell the ſenate from him, they ought to look upon their admiſſion to his preſence, as a mark of his goodneſs and condeſcenſion, conſidering the methods they had taken to incur his diſpleaſure: that tho' peace was agreeable to his inclination, they had no reaſon to expect he ſhould grant it immediately, until they had ſhewn a diſpoſition to deſerve it: he would, however, endeavour to appeaſe the anger of his captains, and in the mean time the Tlaſcalans would do well to facilitate an accommodation, by an amendment in their conduct. Thus, by keeping aloof, he inhanced

the

the value of his friendſhip, which otherwiſe might have grown too cheap in the eyes of ſuch a warlike nation.

The fame of the Spaniards increaſed with their victories; and Motezuma, who, by his caciques and couriers, had intelligence of every thing that paſſed, was very much alarmed at their ſucceſs againſt the Tlaſcalans; fearing that, ſhould the victors and the vanquiſhed unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his whole empire. Yet, inſtead of aſſembling an army for his own defence, he made no preparations of that kind, as if he had been with-held by ſome ſuperior genius that overawed his ſpirit; but had recourſe again to negotiation, and ſent another preſent to Cortes by ambaſſadors, who had orders to divert him from his intended journey, to keep an eye over his actions, and, if poſſible, to hinder him from coming to an accommodation with the Tlaſcalans. Five Mexicans of the firſt rank, being charged with this preſent and ambaſſy, arrived in the Spaniſh quarters immediately after the miniſters of the republic had departed; and were moſt graciouſly received by Cortes, who thankfully accepted of the preſent worth a thouſand pieces of eight, and heard their meſſage, which contained a congratulation on his ſucceſs againſt the Tlaſcalans; and a requeſt that he would not think of coming to his court, for reaſons which hindered him from granting permiſſion. But, Hernan would not diſpatch them immediately, being deſirous that they ſhould with their own eyes ſee the Tlaſcalans humbled; nor did they wiſh to depart until they ſhould be able to accompliſh the real aim of their embaſſy.

The republic, in the mean time, ordered the neighbouring villages to furniſh proviſions gratis for the Spaniſh army, which now enjoyed plenty of every thing, and in two days Cortes was viſited by

by Xicotencal in perſon, at the head of fifty noblemen of his party and parentage, who attended him with the enſigns of peace, to execute their commiſſion in the name of the ſenate. He was above the middle ſtature, well made, and rather muſcular than corpulent; and tho' his features were not agreeable, his aſpect commanded regard: he was habited in a white mantle, adorned with ſome jewels; he appeared with the free air of a ſoldier before Cortes, took his ſeat, and having told who he was, began his ſpeech, by owning frankly that he was the cauſe of the war, believing the Spaniards were the favourites of Motezuma, whom he abhorred; but now he was come to put himſelf into the hands of his conqueror, hoping by this ſubmiſſion to obtain pardon for his country, and peace upon his own terms, which he requeſted once, twice and thrice, in the name and by the authority of the ſenate, nobles and commons of Tlaſcala. He likewiſe intreated him to enter the city, where he would find quarters provided for his men; and, at the ſame time, begged the inhabitants might be well uſed, and their gods and wives protected from military licenſe.

Cortes, in the hearing of the Mexican ambaſſadors, after having complained with ſome vehemence of the unjuſt war they had carried on, granted the peace they deſired, and promiſed that no violence or extortion ſhould be committed by his ſoldiers; adding, that when he ſhould be diſpoſed to enter their city, he would give them timely notice to make the neceſſary preparations.

Xicotencal, interpreting this delay into a doubt of his ſincerity, offered himſelf and his attendants as hoſtages: but Cortes would not accept of any ſecurity, which he ſaid was altogether unneceſſary to an army, which had already maintained itſelf in the midſt of declared enemies; and promiſing to

march

march as ſoon as he could make the proper diſpoſitions, he broke up the conference, giving his hand to Xicotencal at parting, and telling him, that he would return the viſit after he ſhould have diſpatched the ambaſſadors of Motezuma. The Mexicans made a jeſt of this peace, and pretended to wonder that ſo wiſe a man as the Spaniſh general ſhould be deceived by the Tlaſcalans, a barbarous people, who ſupported themſelves more by deceit than by valour, and ſought to lull him into a careleſs ſecurity, that they might deſtroy him and his ſoldiers with the greater eaſe. But, when they ſaw him fixed in his reſolution to grant a peace, which he ſaid was the chief aim and intention of his arms, they began to be very penſive, and, after a fit of muſing, requeſted that he would delay his march to Tlaſcala for ſix days, within which period two of their number ſhould go and inform their prince of this tranſaction, while the reſt would ſtay there to expect his reſolution. To this requeſt, Hernan Cortes conſented; for, he did not think proper to break with Motezuma, who, in conſequence of this intimation, might lay aſide his unwillingneſs to be ſeen.

Within the limited time, the ambaſſadors returned, with ſix gentlemen of the royal family, and a ſplendid retinue, bearing another preſent of greater value than the former, and a meſſage to this import: That Motezuma deſired to be a friend and confederate of the great prince whom the Spaniards obeyed, and would pay him a yearly tribute, with the proviſo that they ſhould enter into no league with the Tlaſcalans, and lay aſide their deſign of coming to Mexico, as his people were determined to ſuffer no ſtrangers to approach his preſence.

Cortes poſtponed his anſwer till after they ſhould have repoſed themſelves, becauſe he deſired

that

that they ſhould be witneſs of the peace with Tlaſcala, and thought it of importance to detain them as long as he could, that Motezuma might have the leſs time to prepare for hoſtilities. Theſe ambaſſies alarmed the Tlaſcalans to ſuch a degree, that the government came to a reſolution to viſit the Spaniſh quarters in the form of a ſenate, in order to convince Cortes of their ſincerity, and break off his negotiation with the Mexicans. Accordingly the ſenators were carried upon the ſhoulders of inferior officers, and arrived in ſolemn proceſſion, with a numerous attendance, at the quarters of the general, who received them with his accuſtomed ſtate and civility, and after they were ſeated, he was harangued by the father of Xicotencal, an old blind man, of a very venerable appearance; who gave him to underſtand, that the ſenate of Tlaſcala were come to make their ſubmiſſion, ſue for peace on his own terms, and diſſuade him from engaging in any league with Motezuma, whom they repreſented as a tyrant, and foe to humanity and juſtice: he likewiſe earneſtly intreated him to honour their city with his preſence, and was ſo preſſing in repeating this requeſt, that Cortes aſſured them, he would march to Tlaſcala as ſoon as the people of the neighbouring villages could be aſſembled, to conduct his artillery and baggage. In conſequence of this declaration, he next morning found five hundred tamenes at his quarters, and having made the proper diſpoſitions, forthwith began his march, in that excellent order which his little army always preſerved. The fields were filled with innumerable multitudes of people, who came forth to behold the fight, and behaved with ſuch geſticulation and outcries, as the Spaniards miſtook for the clamour and threatnings of war, until they were undeceived by Donna Marina, who told them this was the manner in which the Indians expreſſed their joy on

feſtivals.

feſtivals. At a conſiderable diſtance from the town, the Chriſtians were received by the ſenators and nobles, who, having made their reverences without halting, turned about and marched before, in token of the moſt profound regard. At their entrance, the city reſounded with ſhouts, acclamations, and the diſagreeable muſick of their pipes, drums and horns; and ſo great was the concourſe of people, that the magiſtrates could hardly keep the paſſage free: ſome women threw flowers on the Spaniards, while others, more bold, put noſegays into their hands; the prieſts, clad in their long ſacrificing garments, came with their copper cenſers, fumigating the ſtrangers as they paſſed: and the countenances of all the ſpectators formed a groupe expreſſive of joy, admiration and awe. The quarters were provided in a large edifice, which had three or four ſpacious courts with detached chambers, where the whole army was conveniently lodged, and where the ambaſſadors of Motezuma were ſecure under the protection of Cortes, who made his entrance into Tlaſcala on the 23d day of September, 1519, having concluded a peace with the republic, of ſuch duration and conſequence, that to this day the inhabitants of that province enjoy ſeveral privileges and exemptions, as a reward of their friendſhip and fidelity to the firſt conquerors of Mexico.

CHAP.

112°.35 107°.35 102°.35 97°.35 92°.35 87°.35 82°.35 79°.35 Long W. fr. London.

NEW MEXICO

LOUISIANA

FLORIDA

CALIFORNIA

Sea of California

Rio del Brave or North R.

Parral

Cinaloa

New Biscay

R. de Salinas

New Leon

Culiacan

Guayaval

St Miguel

C. St Lucas

Chiametly

Chiametly I.

Compostella

New Galicia

Durango

Palmas R.

Guasteca

Panuco

C. Roxi

Lacatecas

St Louis de Patosi

or Panuco

Guadalaxara

Mechoacan

Mexico

Puebla de los Angeles

Vera Cruz

St Juan de Ulua

Tlascala

Guaxaca

Tabasco

Chiapa

Gulf of Tecoantepec

Guatimala

Soconusco

P. de los Angeles

P. Escondido

Acapulco

Zacatula

Pt de Petaplan

Colima

Pt de la Natividad

Socoro I.

Passion I.

C. Corrientes

la Purificacion

GULF of MEXICO

N. Orleans

St Bernards Bay

Mouth of the Missisipi

Gulf of Florida

St Augustin

Bahama Islands

Providence

Long I.

Havana

Matanzas

Honda B.

C. St Antonio

Pinos I.

la Trinidad

Spiritu Santo

St Iago

C. de Cruz

C. Catoche

Bay of Campeche

Campechy

Merida

Valladolid

Cozumel

Yucatan

Ascention B.

Gulf of Honduras

C. 3 Points

Ruatan

Guayana

C. Honduras

C. Camaron

Carthago B.

Honda B.

Truxillo

Honduras

Gracias a Dios

St George

C. Gracias a Dios

Guatamala

Istapa

Remedios Pt

St Salvador

Amapala B.

Realejo

Leon

Granada

Nicaragua

G. of Papagayo

Nicaragua L.

Nicoya

Carthago

Costa rica

C. Blanco

G. de Salinas

C. Burica

Veragua

Panama

Panama Bay

Coyba

Quicaro

Portobello

G. of Darien

Carthagena

St Martha

Hispaniola

Gr. Camanis

Jamaica

Kingston

P. Royal

NORTH SEA

St Catalina

St Andrew

SOUTH SEA

or

PACIFIC OCEAN

A Map of MEXICO or NEW SPAIN.

95 90 85 80 75 70 65 Long. W. fr. Ferro 60

30 25 20 15 10

T. Jefferys sculp

CHAP. XIV.

An account of the city of Tlaſcala; Diego de Ordaz explores the volcano of Popocatepec; another embaſſy from Mexico; Cortes marches to Cholula; where a ſcheme is laid for his deſtruction; but defeated by the fidelity and diſcretion of Donna Marina.

TLASCALA was a populous city founded upon four eminences, and formed into as many diſtinct wards, governed by four hereditary caciques, who, nevertheleſs, depended entirely upon the ſenate: all the houſes were of one ſtory, built of ſtone or brick, with flat roofs and galleries, and the ſtreets were narrow and crooked, according to the ſteepneſs and ruggedneſs of the mountain; for, the ſituation and architecture were calculated more for defence than convenience. The whole province was about fifty leagues in circumference, ten in length, and four in breadth, a broken mountainous country, tho' fertile and well cultivated, ſurrounded on all ſides with provinces depending on Motezuma, except on the north, where it was hemmed in by the Cordilleras, a ridge of mountains, through which they had communication with the Otomies, Totonaques, and other barbarous tribes. Their towns were numerous, their people warlike and ſuperſtitious, and their ground produced ſuch plenty of maiz or Indian wheat, that the province acquired the name of Tlaſcala, which ſignifies the land of bread. They had great variety of delicious fruit, game of all ſorts, and abundance of cochineal, the uſe of which they learned from the Spaniards. Theſe advantages, however, were counterballanced by certain inconveniencies, to which they were ſubject. The

neighbourhood of the mountains was the occaſion of horrible hurricanes and inundations, which ſometimes deſtroyed their whole harveſt, by ſuddenly ſwelling the river Zahual, the water of which was ſaid to be ſo malignant, that thoſe who uſed it either for drink or bathing were certainly infected with the itch: beſides, their abundance was curſed with the want of ſalt, which though they could have purchaſed in exchange for wheat in the dominions of Motezuma, they choſe rather to eat their food without ſeaſoning, than maintain a commerce with their enemies.

Cortes, conſidering the character of the people among whom he lived, acted with the utmoſt vigilance and circumſpection; the guards were continued in his quarters; he never went abroad without a number of attendants well armed, and the ſoldiers never appeared but in companies, and always carried their fire-arms on their ſhoulders. The Indians were mortified at theſe marks of caution, which indicated diſtruſt, and Magiſcatzin, by order of the ſenate, complained to Cortes of his diffidence, obſerving that his ſoldiers, who paſſed through the city with lightening on their ſhoulders, gave more offence by that mark of ſuſpicion, than they could do by committing real violences. Cortes aſſured him, that he was perfectly convinced of the ſincerity and good will of the republic; but that thoſe circumſtances which gave umbrage, were no other than the effects of diſcipline, by which the Spaniſh ſoldiers had been rendered invincible. This reply ſatisfied the ſenior and the ſenate, and the Spaniards had every day freſh proofs of the friendſhip and fidelity of their new allies: they were entertained with plenty of proviſion, and preſents were poured in upon them from all quarters. Cortes ordered his principal apartment to be converted into a chapel, where maſs was regularly celebrated

lebrated, in preſence of the chief Indians. Magiſcatzin expreſſed an inclination to know the articles of the Chriſtian religion, the ceremonies of which he already admired; and being inſtructed by father Bartolome de Olmedo, he approved of the worſhip, tho' he could by no means be prevailed upon to abandon his own gods: obſerving that the deity of the Chriſtians might be very powerful, but that thoſe of the Indians were likewiſe mighty enough to protect their votaries. Hernan, whoſe zeal ſometimes got the better of his diſcretion, propoſed to deſtroy all their idols without delay: but his fervour was moderated by the wiſdom of de Olmedo, who told him, that he was not without ſcruples concerning the violence offered to the Zempoallans; that perſecution and the goſpel did ill agree, and that the converſion of theſe infidels required time and gentle uſage. In the mean time, he prevailed with the Tlaſcalans to deſiſt from ſacrifices of human blood, which were ſo ſhockingly oppoſite to the laws of nature; and immediately they ſet at liberty thoſe miſerable victims who were fed in cages for the purpoſes of their inhuman worſhip. The peace being eſtabliſhed, and the ſenate of Tlaſcala having ſworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes diſmiſſed the Mexican ambaſſadors, deſiring they would inform Motezuma of what had paſſed in their preſence; of the ſollicitations and fidelity of the Tlaſcalans, with whom he had now ſuch influence, that he hoped in time to reduce them to the obedience of the Mexican emperor; and of his reſolution to continue his journey, that he might confer with their ſovereign on that ſubject, as well as on others of greater importance. While Cortes remained at Tlaſcala, receiving homage, in the name of Don Carlos, from the different towns and confederates of the republic, there was a ſur-

prizing eruption of fire and ſmoke from the volcano of Popocatepec, a very high mountain at the diſtance of eight leagues from the city; and this extraordinary diſcharge overwhelmed the people with ſorrow and conſternation: for, they looked upon it as a preſage of future ills, ſuppoſing the ſparks of fire to be the ſouls of tyrants that came abroad to chaſtize the earth, and that the gods being angry, employed them as the inſtruments of their vengeance. Magiſcatzin and ſome of the chief noblemen were employed in rehearſing theſe idle fancies to Cortes, when Diego de Ordaz came to aſk leave to aſcend the mountain, and examine this great ſecret of nature. The Indians were aſtoniſhed at the propoſal, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from ſuch a dangerous enterprize; obſerving that the boldeſt of their nation had never ventured to go above ſome hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that the dreadful roarings and tremblings forbad all approach to the top of the mountain. This account increaſed the eagerneſs of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes complied with his requeſt, that the Tlaſcalans might have a freſh proof of the ſuperior courage of the Spaniards. Ordaz, accompanied by two ſoldiers and ſome principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages, ſet out on this expedition, and found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all ſides with green trees, which, for a conſiderable way upwards, cover the hill; then, the earth grows barren by degrees, the ſnow lying all the year in thoſe places to which the ſun and fire have no acceſs, and the other parts whitened with the aſhes diſcharged from the volcano. The Indians ſtopped at the hermitages, to which they never expected to ſee the Spaniards return; and Diego de Ordaz, with his two ſoldiers, proceeded, climbing courageouſly among the rocks, until they

reached a place at a ſmall diſtance from the top, when they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard the tremendous roaring of the burning mouth, which in a little time, with redoubled noiſe, diſcharged a vaſt quantity of fire wrapped up in ſmoke, that, darting upwards to a great height, fell down upon the three Spaniards, in ſhowers of aſhes, ſo thick and hot, that they were obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in a hollow of the rock, where they were almoſt ſtifled. But Diego de Ordaz, perceiving the earthquake was paſt, encouraged his companions by his example to proſecute their diſcovery, until reaching the very mouth of the volcano, about a quarter of a league in circumference, he obſerved at the bottom a very great maſs of fire, which ſeemed to boil like ſome ſhining metal in fuſion. With this account he returned ſafe, to the aſtoniſhment of the Indians, whoſe eſteem for the Spaniards was increaſed by this adventure; and tho' it was at firſt conſidered as a raſh curioſity in Ordaz, it afterwards proved of ſignal ſervice in the courſe of the expedition: for, Cortes, from this diſcovery, found a great quantity of ſulphur in the mountain, of which he made gun-powder, when it was very much wanted by the army; and the emperor ennobled this action, by giving Ordaz the burning mountain for his arms.

Cortes having ſpent twenty days at Tlaſcala, during which, he was entertained with feſtivals, dances and feats of agility, fixed the day for his departure, and ſeemed inclined to take the road of Cholula: but his choice was oppoſed by the Tlaſcalans, who reinforced the arguments formerly uſed by the Zempoallans, with ſaying that Cholula was a ſacred place, containing four hundred temples, and ſuch malignant gods that they terrified the world with prodigies; and therefore it would be dangerous to enter their territories, without ſome aſſurance

of their being propitious. Before any reſolution was taken on this head, new ambaſſadors arrived from Motezuma, with another preſent, and permiſſion to the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the army. The Tlaſcalans no ſooner heard of this propoſal, than they concluded there was treachery in the caſe; and Magiſcatzin, who had a very warm affection for Cortes, repeated his remonſtrances with ſuch demonſtrations of concern, that Cortes called a council in his preſence, where, after mature deliberation, it was agreed that they could not poſſibly avoid the road propoſed by Motezuma, without diſcovering their ſuſpicion of his ſincerity: that, whether this was well or ill founded, it would be improper to diſcloſe it, and no leſs dangerous to leave traitors behind them; ſo that it was neceſſary for them to go to Cholula, to diſcover the intentions of the Mexican emperor, and add new reputation to their arms, by chaſtizing the perfidy of his ſubjects. Magiſcatzin, tho' he ſubmitted to the ſuperior judgment of the Spaniards, begged leave to aſſemble the troops of the republic, that they might be ready to aſſiſt their friends: and Hernan conſented with reluctance to this propoſal, which argued ſuch concern and affection.

The Tlaſcalans were not miſtaken in their opinion of Motezuma. That prince, terrified at the victories of the Spaniards, and aſhamed to employ his armies againſt ſuch an handful of people, reſolved to deſtroy them by fraud, and choſe Cholula as the ſcene of his artifice. Yet the inhabitants of that city ſeem to have been novices in diſſimulation: for, they neglected to ſend deputies to Cortes, who complained to the Mexican ambaſſadors of this mark of diſreſpect; and when they were appriſed of his diſpleaſure, they ſent four perſons of no conſideration, in ſuch mean equipage, that the Spaniſh general refuſed

ſed to admit them into his preſence. The day of his departure being come, he aroſe early in the morning to draw up his own men and the Zempoallan auxiliaries, and was not a little ſurprized to find the whole force of the republic, and her allies, already in the field, to an incredible number; the ſeveral commands being diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their feathers, and the difference of their enſigns, repreſenting eagles, lions, and other fierce animals. Their chiefs coming to Cortes, gave him to underſtand, that they were raiſed by the republic, to ſerve under his command, and follow his banners as far as Mexico: and tho' he acknowledged their care and affection with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, he was at pains to convince them that it would be improper to march with ſuch an army, when his errand was peace; and, after he had choſen ſome companies to follow him, the reſt were perſuaded to remain at Tlaſcala, ready to march to his aſſiſtance upon any emergency. With ſix thouſand of the republic's troops, joined to his own army, Cortes began his march towards Cholula, diſtant about five leagues from Tlaſcala, and that ſame evening halted near a pleaſant river, within three miles of the town, which he did not chuſe to enter by night. Here he was viſited by other deputies from the city, of eminent rank and honourable appearance, who brought a preſent of proviſions, and delivered their embaſſy, the purport of which was, to excuſe their caciques, who had omitted waiting upon him at Tlaſcala, becauſe he was then in the midſt of their enemies, and to welcome him and his people to their city, which was rejoiced at an opportunity of ſhewing its reſpect to ſuch honourable gueſts. Hernan received them graciouſly, and admitted their excuſe, tho' he was far from being convinced of their ſincerity; and, next day, he continued his march towards the city with great vigilance, be-

cauſe the inhabitants ſeemed ſo ſlow in coming out to receive him. However, as he approached the town, the caciques and prieſts appeared, with a numerous attendance of unarmed people, and met him with ſuch ſeeming reverence and joy, as might have impoſed upon the moſt diſcerning eye: but, when they perceived the body of Tlaſcalans that marched in the rear, their countenances changed, and a diſagreeable murmur aroſe among their chiefs, the cauſe of which Donna Marina being ordered to demand, was anſwered, that the Tlaſcalans being their enemies could not enter the city in arms; they therefore earneſtly entreated that Cortes would order them to return, that their preſence might be no impediment to the peace. He was a little diſconcerted at this demand, which, however, was ſo reaſonable in itſelf, that he deſired the Tlaſcalans to take their quarters without the city, until he ſhould be able to penetrate into the deſigns of the Cholulans; and they, without heſitation, agreed to make their barracks without the walls, in a place where they ſhould be at hand to ſuccour their friends in caſe of neceſſity; ſo that the people of Cholula were entirely ſatisfied with this diſpoſition. The entry of the Spaniards into Cholula was like that of Tlaſcala. They paſſed through an innumerable croud of people, who rent the air with acclamations: the women ſtrewed and preſented noſegays, the caciques and prieſts welcomed them with reverences and perfumes, while a variety of inſtruments increaſed the noiſe, and every thing ſeemed to denote an univerſal joy, which the Spaniards, who entered full of jealouſy, began to think ſincere.

The city, which for its beauty was compared to Valladolid, ſtood in an open and delightful plain, containing twenty thouſand inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number lived in the ſuburbs. It was greatly frequented by ſtrangers, as a ſanctu-

ary

ary of the gods, and an emporium of merchandiſe: the ſtreets were ſpacious and well planned, the buildings greater and of better architecture than thoſe of Tlaſcala, adorned with ſumptuous towers, that ſhewed the multitude of their temples: but the inhabitants were more cunning than warlike, conſiſting chiefly of merchants and mechanics.

The quarters provided for Cortes, were three or four large buildings, contiguous to each other, large enough to contain the Spaniards and Zempoallans: and as for the Tlaſcalans, they pitched upon a place, at a little diſtance from the town, which they ſecured with ſome works, forming guards, and placing centinels, in imitation of their European friends, from whoſe practice they had by this time improved in military affairs.

During the firſt three or four days, there was nothing but the appearance of friendſhip and tranquillity; but then, proviſions grew gradually ſcarce, and the entertainments and attendance of the caciques ceaſed all at once. Motezuma's ambaſſadors held private conferences with the prieſts, and the people could not help expreſſing a kind of ſcorn and diſtaſte in their countenances. Theſe ſuſpicious circumſtances awakened the jealouſy of the Spaniards, and Cortes was actually employed in contriving ſome means to be informed of the intention of the Cholulans, when the whole deſign was diſcovered by accident. Donna Marina had contracted a friendſhip for an old Indian woman of note, who returned her affection with intereſt; this lady coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with marks of great earneſtneſs and affliction, that ſhe would immediately forſake thoſe abominable ſtrangers, and repair to her houſe, where ſhe ſhould find entertainment and protection. Donna Marina perceiving there was ſomething extraordinary in this requeſt, diſſembled her inclination, bemoaned her

captivity, accepted her kind offer, and acted her part with such dexterity, that the Indian lady, believing her sincere, told her plainly, that there was no time to be lost, for the Spaniards were devoted to destruction; that Motezuma had provided twenty thousand Mexicans, who were at a small distance, ready to secure the success of the design; of these, six thousand chosen men had already entered the city, in small parties; that abundance of arms was distributed among the inhabitants, who had carried up great quantities of stones to the tops of their houses, and cut deep trenches across the streets, in which sharp stakes were fixed, and slightly covered with earth, for the destruction of the horses; that Motezuma had resolved to make an end of all the Christians; but had given orders that some of them should be taken alive, to satisfy his curiosity, and zeal for religion; and, that he had presented the city of Cholula with a golden drum, curiously hollowed, to excite their courage and industry on this occasion. Donna Marina having gained this intelligence, said, she was ready to attend her kind deliverer; and, on pretence of going to fetch her jewels, went immediately and related the whole conspiracy to Cortes, who ordered the Indian woman to be seized, and, by dint of threats, extorted from her a confession of all the particulars. He was, at the same time, warned by some Tlascalan soldiers, who came in the disguise of peasants, and desired he would be upon his guard; for, from their quarters, they had seen the Cholulans carrying their women and effects to the neighbouring villages. He likewise understood, that they had in the morning celebrated a sacrifice of ten children, male and female, a ceremony never performed, except when they were on the eve of some military action. Their design was also confirmed by the report of two or three Zempoallans, who, in strolling about the streets, had

had by accident discovered the trenches, and some works made to guide the horses to unsuspected precipices.

Hernan Cortes, in order to justify his conduct, by the testimony of some unexceptionable witnesses of their own nation, sent for three of the chief priests, who were of great authority with the caciques and the people, and, discoursing with them separately, complained of their treason, the circumstances of which he explained, without disclosing the authors of his information: so that they, believing him a deity who penetrated into the thoughts of men, acknowledged the truth of what he alledged, and laid the blame upon Motezuma, as the author of the whole contrivance. These priests being secretly imprisoned, and Motezuma's ambassadors excluded from all communication with the people, Cortes assembled his captains, and, having made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy, proposed a scheme for punishing the perfidy of the Cholulans, to which they unanimously gave their assent. In consequence of this plan, he signified to the magistrates that he should depart next day, demanded provisions for his march, Indians of burthen for his baggage, and a reinforcement of two thousand armed men to join the Tlascalans and Zempoallans for his service. These last he demanded with a view of disuniting their forces; and they chearfully granted his request, in order to introduce among his troops concealed enemies, whom they could use as occasion should offer. Orders were given to the Tlascalans to draw near the city at the dawn of day, and, at the first discharge of the fire arms, to enter the town and join the Spaniards, who, with the Zempoallans, were made acquainted with the nature of the service in which they would be employed. At night, the quarters were secured with guards and centinels for the occasion;

and Cortes, ſending for Motezuma's ambaſſadors, told them as a ſecret, which he imparted through intimacy and friendſhip, that he had diſcovered a conſpiracy, formed againſt him by the caciques and citizens of Cholula, whom he was reſolved to puniſh for their perfidious breach of hoſpitality, the more becauſe the principal conſpirators had not only confeſſed their crime, but even ſought to excuſe it, by ſaying they had received orders and aſſiſtance from Motezuma, to deſtroy the Spaniards in that infamous manner: he therefore took this opportunity of communicating his reſolutions to them, that they might be appriſed of his reaſons, and aſſured, that he was not ſo much provoked by their treacherous intention towards him, as by their preſumption in authorizing their crime with the name of the emperor.

The ambaſſadors, tho' overwhelmed with terror and confuſion, proteſted they knew nothing of the conſpiracy, and endeavoured to ſave the credit of their prince; and Cortes, whoſe intereſt it was to ſeem ignorant of Motezuma's intention, rejoiced in having this opportunity of raiſing the reputation of his arms, in defeating the arts of the Mexican prince, the weakneſs of whoſe reſolution plainly appeared in theſe efforts of deceit.

Early in the morning came the tamenes, with ſome proviſions, tho' in ſmall quantity; and afterwards, the armed Indians, exceeding the number that Cortes had demanded: theſe he diſtributed into the ſeveral courts of his quarters, ſeparating them on pretence of forming his battalions in his uſual manner. They being ſecured, he put his men in order, and mounting his horſe, ſummoned the caciques to appear: when they were aſſembled, he told them, with a loud and terrible voice, (his words being interpreted by Donna Marina) that their conſpiracy being diſcovered, he would now inflict the

puniſhment,

puniſhment, by the rigour of which, they ſhould learn to their coſt, how much it concerned them to maintain the peace which they had ſo treacherouſly conſpired to infringe. Scarce had he begun to ſpeak, when they retired with great expedition to join their own forces, inſulting him with threats and abuſe, which they uttered as they fled. He then commanded his infantry to fall upon their ſoldiers, whom he kept divided in the ſquares, all of whom were ſoon deſtroyed, except a few, who flung themſelves from the walls and eſcaped. This ſlaughter being finiſhed, he gave the ſignal for the Tlaſcalans to move; and the army advanced ſlowly into the principal ſtreet, after he had left a neceſſary guard in the quarters, and detached ſome Zempoallans to diſcover the trenches, that the horſe might avoid the danger. Mean while the Cholulans called in the Mexicans, and joined in a great ſquare diſtinguiſhed by three temples, poſted a number of people on the tops of the towers and in the porches, while the reſt were divided into ſeveral bodies to engage the Spaniards: but, juſt as the troops of Cortes entered the ſquare, and the charge was given, the Tlaſcalans cloſing with the enemy's rear, they were put into ſuch dread and diſorder, that they could not fly, and knew not how to defend themſelves, ſo that they fell in heaps without reſiſtance. The ſteps and terraces of the temples were covered with multitudes of armed men; and the Mexicans, who undertook the defence of thoſe places, found themſelves ſo incumbered that they could hardly turn, and had ſcarce room to ſhoot their arrows. Cortes, advancing to the largeſt temple, commanded his interpreters to proclaim free paſſage and pardon to all ſuch as would voluntarily come down and ſurrender; and this proffer, tho' twice repeated, being rejected by all but one Indian, he ordered the artillery to batter, and the towers to be ſet on fire;

ſo

ſo that great numbers periſhed in the ruins and conflagration. The other temples being deſtroyed in the ſame manner, the Spaniards marched through the whole city, and above ſix thouſand natives and Mexicans were ſlain. The Tlaſcalans were very diſorderly in pillaging the town, and in particular fell upon the magazines of ſalt, ſome loads of which they immediately ſent to their own city, remembering the neceſſities of their country even in the midſt of ſuch confuſion. Cortes, having aſſigned quarters to them within the city, retired to his own lodgings, where ordering the principal people of the town, whom they had taken priſoners, together with the prieſts and Indian woman whom he kept confined, to be brought into his preſence, he expreſſed his concern at being obliged to inflict ſo ſevere a puniſhment, aſſured them he had laid aſide his diſpleaſure, publiſhed a general pardon, and begged the caciques would endeavour to re-people the city, by calling back the fugitives, and encouraging thoſe who were concealed to come forth. The Indians could ſcarce believe themſelves at liberty, tho' they kiſſed the earth in token of acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion. The ambaſſadors congratulated Cortes on the ſucceſs of the day, and their compliments were graciouſly received by the general, who wiſely temporized in this manner, rather than run the riſque of Motezuma's open reſentment: and the citizens, encouraged by the lenity of the Spaniards, returned to their houſes, and opened their ſhops, ſo that the tumult immediately ſubſided into obedience and tranquillity.

On the day after the action, Xicotencal arrived with twenty thouſand men, which the republic had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, who always found that nation friendly and faithful; but Cortes, having entertained them with the warmeſt acknowledgments, told their general, that as he intended very

very ſoon to begin his march to Mexico, it would be improper to provoke Motezuma, by bringing into his dominion ſuch a number of his declared enemies: and Xicotencal, owning that his remonſtrance was juſt, promiſed to retire, and keep the troops in readineſs for his ſervice when occaſion ſhould require. But, before they returned, Cortes mediated a peace between the republic and Cholula, by which wiſe conduct he opened a way for the Tlaſcalans to ſupply him with ſuccours, and removed all impediment to his retreat, in caſe the ſucceſs ſhould not anſwer his expectation.

The day fixed for his departure from Cholula now drawing near, ſome of the Zempoallans deſired leave to return to their own home; and Cortes granting their requeſt without heſitation, and having thanked them for their good ſervices, took this opportunity of ſending ſome preſents to their cacique, to whoſe care he recommended the Spaniards who were left in his diſtrict; and at the ſame time he wrote to Juan de Eſcalante a ſhort account of his ſucceſs, deſiring him to ſtrengthen Vera Cruz with additional fortifications, not ſo much from fear of the Indians, as of Diego Velaſquez, to whoſe reſtleſs ambition he was no ſtranger. About this time new ambaſſadors arrived from Motezuma, who being informed of what had paſſed at Cholula, and, deſirous of avoiding all ſuſpicion of having had any concern in the affair, took this method of thanking Cortes for chaſtizing thoſe traitors, who had acted a part ſo unworthy of the ſubjects of ſuch a prince: and this meſſage was accompanied with a preſent of great value; his deſign being to lead the Spaniards into a blind ſecurity, ſo as that they might fall into another ambuſh which he had prepared for them in their rout.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Cortes diſcovers and baffles a treacherous deſign of the Mexicans; Motezuma is diſpirited by his oracles; the Spaniards proceed to the ſkirts of the great lake; the general is viſited by the king of Tezeuco, and arrives at that city; from thence he marches to Iztapalapa.

AFTER a ſtay of fourteen days at Cholula, Cortes proceeded on his march, and the firſt night quartered in a village in the juriſdiction of Guajozingo, to which the chiefs of that government and the neighbouring towns repaired with preſents and proviſions; and among theſe people Cortes found the ſame complaints of Motezuma, as in the more remote provinces: nor was he ſorry to ſee thoſe humours extend ſo near the heart of the empire, well knowing that a prince cannot be very formidable, who, by loſing the love of his ſubjects, is diveſted of the ſureſt defence of a ſovereign. Next day, he proſecuted his march over a very craggy mountain adjoining to the volcano; proceeding with great caution, in conſequence of the advice he received from one of the caciques of Guajozingo, who told him, that the Mexicans had placed a great ambuſcade on the other ſide of the mountain; that they had ſtopped up the high road leading down to the province of Chalco, and opened another ending in natural precipices, that the Spaniſh army, being intangled in difficulties, might be ſuddenly charged when their horſes could be of no ſervice, and the foot have no room to form. Although Cortes was highly incenſed at the treachery of the Mexicans, he ſtifled his reſentment; and, when he reached the top of the mountain, perceiving the two roads by the deſcription he had received, he, with great compoſure,

compoſure, turned to the Mexican ambaſſadors, and aſked the meaning of that appearance: for, one was blocked up with trees and ſtones, and the other newly made. They anſwered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience, and the other ſtopt up, becauſe naturally more ſteep and difficult. "You are but little acquainted with the genius of "my nation; (replied Hernan very calmly) they "will march in this road you have broke, for no "other reaſon than its difficulty: for, of two things, "the Spaniards always chuſe that which is leaſt "eaſy." So ſaying, he deſired his Indian friends to march before him, and clear the way, by removing the obſtacles to his paſſage: and his command was inſtantly executed, to the amazement of the ambaſſadors, who never dreamed that he ſuſpected their deſign. But, the Indians in ambuſcade, perceiving the Spaniards marching in the royal road, concluded they were diſcovered, and began to retire in diſorder and conſternation; ſo that Cortes deſcended into the plain without oppoſition, and paſſed the night in ſome houſes, built for the entertainment of Mexican merchants, who frequented the fairs of Cholula.

Motezuma, in the mean time, diſpirited by theſe diſappointments, loſt his courage, and grew daily more and more devout: he frequented the temples, redoubled the ſacrifices of human blood; and, at length, aſſembling his magicians and ſorcerers, commanded them, upon pain of death and torture, to take the field, and either overcome or ſtupify the Spaniards by the force of enchantment. In obedience to his command, ſeveral companies of necromancers ſet out for the road of Chalco, where having performed their conjurations without ſucceſs, they returned and told Motezuma, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom proceeded plagues, famine, and other chaſtiſements of heaven, had appeared

peared to them, in a garment girt with a rope of wicker, and, with a frowning aſpect, declared that the ruin of Motezuma was decreed, and the deſolation of the empire at hand. The king was ſo aſtoniſhed at this dreadful report, that he ſtood ſpeechleſs for a conſiderable length of time; then, ſummoning all his fortitude to his aid, and laying aſide his native fierceneſs, "If our gods forſake us, (ſaid "he) let the ſtrangers come, and the heavens fall "upon our heads: to turn our backs upon misfor-"tune, would be diſhonourable." After a little pauſe, he added, "I lament the old men, women, "and children, who cannot defend themſelves:" and with theſe words a flood of tears ran down his cheeks.

From this moment he began to make preparations for the entertainment and entry of the Spaniards; and the whole diſcourſe of Mexico turned upon their great actions, the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold, the marks they bore of thoſe oriental men who were deſcribed in their prophecies, and the deſpondency of their own gods, who now ſeemed to abandon their dominion to a deity of ſuperior power. Theſe topics of converſation produced a prepoſſeſſion, that was abſolutely neceſſary, to enable an handful of men to penetrate to the very court of ſuch a potent and abſolute prince, whoſe ſubjects revered him even to adoration.

From the houſes where Cortes quartered his troops on the other ſide of the mountain, he advanced the following day to a ſmall village in the juriſdiction of Chalco, about two leagues from the former encampment, and there he was viſited by the principal cacique of the province, and others of the neighbourhood, who brought preſents and proviſions; and, when unobſerved by the Mexican ambaſſadors, complained to Hernan, as to a ſuperior being, of the tyranny of Motezuma. They ſet forth the

grievous

grievous load of taxes they bore; and added, with tears in their eyes, that, not contented with their effects, he took their women as a tribute to his luſt, and that of his miniſters; ſo that the daughter found no ſecurity in the mother's arms, nor was the wife protected in the bed of her huſband. Cortes heard them with compaſſion, and comforted them with hope of relief; and next day, purſued his march for four leagues, through a pleaſant country, adorned with beautiful groves and gardens, until he arrived at a village in Amemeca, built on a creek of the great lake, where he choſe his lodging for the night. Hither reſorted the Mexicans, with their arms and military ornaments, to ſuch a number as awakened the ſuſpicion of Cortes, who, in order to keep them at a proper diſtance, commanded ſome fire arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, the report of which, attended with flame and ſmoke, obliged them to retire with precipitation.

In the morning, the general was viſited by prince Cacumatzin, nephew to Motezuma, and lord of Tezeuco, a young man of an agreeable preſence, who was carried on the ſhoulders of ſome Indians of his own family, in a chair adorned with a variety of plumage very curiouſly diverſified. So ſoon as he alighted, his ſervants went before, to ſweep the ground, and puſh back the people on each ſide: and Cortes going to the door of his apartment, received him with a profound reverence, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and afterwards his lips with his right hand; then taking his place with an eaſy air, he welcomed him and all his captains; informed him of the amicable diſpoſition of Motezuma; and mentioned the difficulties that oppoſed his coming to Mexico, proceeding from that year's barrenneſs, by which the people were very much diſtreſſed; ſo that ſtrangers muſt be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted neceſſa-

ry

ry ſubſiſtence. To this declaration Cortes anſwered, that the king, his maſter, having ſome reaſons of high import, for offering his friendſhip to Motezuma, and communicating ſeveral affairs which eſſentially regarded his perſon and dignity, he, his ſervant, did with great reſpect accept the liberty he had received to deliver his embaſſy; without being in pain for the preſent ſcarcity; as the Spaniards required but little nouriſhment, and were inured to ſuffer, and even deſpiſe thoſe inconveniences which diſtreſſed men of an inferior ſpecies. Cacumatzin made no other attempt to divert the reſolution of Cortes, from whom he received ſome jewels of glaſs, with abundance of joy and acknowledgment, and accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominion, from whence he proceeded to Mexico, with an account of his embaſſy.

Tezeuco was one of the greateſt cities of the empire, and even vied in grandeur with Mexico itſelf. The principal front was extended on the border of a ſpacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican cauſey, by which the general purſued his march without halting, intending to advance three leagues farther to Iztacpalapa, from whence he could next day enter Mexico, in good time. In this part, the breadth of the cauſey amounted to twenty feet, compoſed of ſtone and lime, with ſome works on the ſurface; and mid-way upon it was another town, of about two thouſand houſes, called Quitlavaca, founded in the water, whence it afterwards acquired the name of Venuzuela or Little Venice. Here the cacique, with a grand retinue, came out to receive Cortes, whom he deſired to honour his city that night with his preſence, and preſſed the invitation with ſuch cordiality, that Hernan thought proper to comply with his entreaties; eſpecially as his ſtay might enable him to make obſervations: for, having now a nearer view of the danger, he ſuſpected that

that the Mexicans would break the cauſey, or take away the bridges to obſtruct his march. From this place might be ſeen the greateſt part of the lake, beautified with towns and cauſeys, towers and pinnacles, trees and gardens, that ſeemed to ſwim upon the water; beſides, a multitude of Indians approaching in their canoes to behold the Spaniards; and ſtill a greater number on the battlements of the houſes, forming a proſpect extremely noble, and a novelty ſurpriſing beyond imagination.

The army was well accommodated in theſe quarters, where the people entertained them with a chearful aſpect and polite demeanor, that ſpoke the neighbourhood of the court: yet the cacique could not help expreſſing by hints his hatred to Motezuma, and the deſire he had to be freed from the intolerable yoke of his dominion.

Next morning, a little after break of day, the Spaniards formed themſelves upon the cauſey, which in that part was wide enough to allow eight horſes to march in front; and the army, conſiſting of four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ſix thouſand Indian allies, continued their march to Iztacpalapa, a place conſiſting of ten thouſand houſes, two and three ſtories high, part of which were built upon the lake, but chiefly on the ſhore, in a moſt delightful and commodious ſituation. Before the Spaniards reached this city, the lord of it, accompanied by the princes of Magiſcatzingo and Cuyoacan, towns bordering upon the lake, came forth to meet Cortes, with three ſeparate preſents of fruits, fowls, and other proviſions, with ſome pieces of gold; and, when they entered the city, they were welcomed with loud acclamations. Their lodging was prepared in the prince's own palace, which was large and well built, with diſtinct apartments both above and below, among which were many chambers with flat roofs of cedar, and furniſhed with cotton hangings

ings curiouſly painted. Here were many fountains of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and among a great number of large well cultivated gardens, was one far more ſpacious and beautiful than the reſt, ſet apart for the diverſion of the cacique. It abounded with fruit-trees, diſpoſed into large walks; and there was a parterre with diviſions made of canes, interwoven and covered with odoriferous herbs; beſides ſeveral well cultivated ſquares, adorned with variety of flowers. In the middle of the garden was a quadrangular pond of freſh water, encompaſſed with a wall, having ſtairs on all ſides to the bottom, ſo large that each ſide extended four hundred paces; and in this reſervoir were kept the moſt delicate fiſh, while it ſerved as a retreat to ſeveral ſorts of water-fowl.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.